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CHRISTIANITY PRACTICALLY APPLIED.

CHRISTIANITY PRACTICALLY APPLIED.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE

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The Section Conferences. 8vo, cloth, $2.00.

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CHRISTIANITY PRACTICALLY APPLIED.

THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

HELD IN

CHICAGO, OCTOBER, 8–14, 1893,

IN CONNECTION WITH

THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

AND UNDER THE AUSPICES AND DIRECTION OF THE

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

FOR THE

UNITED STATES.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE.

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THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN it was first decided to hold a Columbian Exposition in 1893, and, so far as we know, before the World's Congress Auxiliary was thought of, the Evangelical Alliance for the United States contemplated holding a great conference in honor of the occasion, and especially in recognition of the fact that the progress of the past four hundred years and the prosperity of the nation had sprung not simply from material resources of marvellous richness, but also from certain great ideas which lie at the foundation of modern, and especially of American, civilization.

The projecting of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and on so vast a scale, exemplifying so nobly its own motto, "Not matter, but mind; not things, but men," materially modified the course of action which had been entertained by the Alliance. It was decided to accept the invitation to hold our conference under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, as one of the religious congresses, and to narrow the scope of our programme accordingly, in recognition of the wide field occupied by other congresses.

Following as it did many gatherings in the interest of reforms, which discussed the great problems of our times, and being the last of the religious congresses at which were presented the strength, resources, and peculiar adaptations of the various denominations, it naturally became the especial province of our conference to serve as a sort of connecting link, and to show how the resources of the churches might be applied to the furtherance of needed reforms and to the solution of many of these great problems.

At the Washington Conference in 1887, thought centred in the *perils* which were seen to threaten the nation; at Boston, the

needs of modern and of American civilization fixed attention; at Chicago, little was said of perils and needs. These were assumed as if well recognized and understood. The great object was to point out the social mission of the church, and to present practical methods of Christian work by which the church might accomplish her social mission, and thus meet the great perils and needs of the times.

The subjects, however, which have always interested the Alliance were not omitted. The program was divided into four general subjects, as follows:

I. The Religious Condition of Protestant Christendom.

II. Christian Liberty.

III. Christian Union and Co-operation.

IV. The Church and Social Problems.

The discussions under the last general division occupy nearly a third of the first volume and the whole of the second.

The first volume contains the discussions of the General Conference; the second, those of the Section Conferences. The subjects of the latter are classified under Evangelistic, Reformatory, Educational, Social, and Miscellaneous.

Mr. William E. Dodge, the President of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, presided over the sessions of the General Conference, and those of the Section Conferences were presided over by Rev. Joachim Elmendorf, D.D., Mr. R. R. McBurney, President W. De W. Hyde, D.D., Professor Graham Taylor, D.D., Mr. John Paton, Mr. Anthony Comstock, Rev. E. H. Byington, Rev. Willard Parsons, Mrs. Charles Henrotin, Mrs. E. W. Blatchford, and Mrs. Lucy Rider Meyer, M.D.

The various sessions were opened with devotional exercises, and a devotional meeting was held each day for a half-hour before the morning session.

The two hundred congresses that preceded this had not exhausted the genial hospitality of President Bonney and of the other officers of the World's Congress Auxiliary. They did everything in their power to promote the success of the conference, and could have been no more attentive if this had been the first congress, or indeed the only one.

The Alliance is indebted also to the hospitable citizens of Chicago who opened their houses for the entertainment of speakers.

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CHRISTIANITY PRACTICALLY APPLIED.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE CONGRESS.

CHICAGO, HALL OF COLUMBUS.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8, 3 P.M.

GREETINGS AND RESPONSES.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESSES OF 1893.

WE live in a period of the most marvellous Christian activity —a period in which Christianity, assuming an attitude never heretofore held, essays in very truth the conquest of the entire world, including all departments of human activity. Is "Christianity declining" as we have sometimes heard suggested? The world never saw such a period of activity as that in the midst of which we now are. Within a given four years of the past decade more than one thousand communicants were added to the Protestant churches alone during every day of the entire period; more than ten church temples were erected on every day of that period of four years; and whereas at the beginning of the century there was scarcely a trace of professed Christianity in the colleges and highest institutions of learning, now about fifty per cent of the students in those institutions of learning are professed Christians. At the beginning of the century only one in a little less than fifteen of the population was a professed Christian.

Now almost one in five of the population bears that sacred name. Then dogma and ritual and emotion absorbed, for the most part, the strength and vigor and power of the Christian organization. Now its power and activity reaches out in every direction and seeks, as I have already said, nothing less than the conquest of the entire earth. Science, industry, commerce, charity—every field in which man is active, now responds to the direct influence of the Christian Church. And last and most surprising, perhaps, of all, and yet a most fitting thing to be observed on this occasion, is that religion, advancing into the domain of science, finds in the supreme miracle of the Incarnation not an exception to or a violation of the laws of nature, but their culmination and crown, and the key which unlocks the entire mystery of creation, from the monad to the man ; sees, in this crowning act of evolution, the fulfilment of all law, and not an exception to or a violation of any law.

The Evangelical Alliance is a special agency raised up by the hand of divine Providence to promote the unity and peace of mankind. Its special province seems to be to destroy what the founder of the Brotherhood of Christian Unity has termed, and well termed, Hadesian Theology,—that kind of theology which sets the different sects and organizations of the Christian religion at war with each other about their points of difference, instead of uniting with each other against the common foes of infidelity and religion everywhere. I suppose the last part of the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew may be declared almost the divine Constitution of the Evangelical Alliance. It is to feed the hungry, spiritually and naturally, to give drink to the thirsty, to befriend the stranger, to clothe the naked, to heal the sick, to visit those who are in prison, to supply whatever the want may be, either of the body or the soul. The Evangelical Alliance, as I understand it, is a grand demonstration of applied Christianity. Leaving speculative and theoretical theology and Christianity where they may be treated with the least harm to the general public welfare, the churches now at last band themselves together to apply this religion to life in all its departments. If the Evangelical Alliance find one casting out devils in the Lord's name, it does not forbid him "because he followeth not with us," but remembers what the words of the Lord were—"Forbid him not, for he that is not against us is with us." If the Evangelical Alliance sees

some one Christian denomination especially active in all or any of the good works of faith and charity, it rejoices and calls on others to emulate the example and engage in that just and generous rivalry which will bring all into the common service of God and man.

To be evangelical, we are told, is to act according to the Gospel or what is contained therein. And so this Alliance comes before the world declaring that it seeks the furtherance of its opinions with the intent to manifest and strengthen Christian unity.

The first great, all pervading and commanding object of the organization is Christian unity. That means the unity of all who breathe the name of Christ in reverence and who adore Him under any form of faith, whatever that may be; and further, its object is to promote religious liberty.

What is religious liberty? Not merely liberty to attend the service one may select, but liberty of mind and conscience and heart to seek out God and find Him and worship Him without human restraint in that sacred relation which exists between the soul and its Creator.

And finally and most appropriately, to promote and push any Christian work. And this last object of the Evangelical Alliance comprehends all the others, in such a way that where all are co-operating in Christian work they will not fail to exercise towards each other the privileges of religious liberty and seek and promote Christian unity. And this without interfering with the internal affairs of the different denominations. Thus the Quaker, the Episcopalian, the Baptist, and members of all the other denominations, may each worship God in his own way, may each have the forms and expressions and services which he may find best adapted to his circumstances.

The history of this movement is certainly as noble and inspiring as that of any other in the present half-century. From the inception of the movement in London in 1846 down to the last general meeting in Florence in 1891, and down to this meeting which opens here to-day, it has been one long and glorious line of effort against the common enemies of mankind, one long and glorious line of advance in the best work of the Christian warfare.

Thus the original spirit of the movement, as might be ex-

pected, has enlarged and been exalted. Its sweep is greater, its reach is farther, than when it first set out upon its mission. He who will examine the programme prepared for this occasion cannot but be surprised at the extent and variety of the subjects to be presented in the name of Christ for Christian consideration and treatment. Missions, nurses, visitations, baths, education, social purity, social settlements, working girls' clubs, physical training, popular lectures, reading circles, tenement reforms, organized charities, reform of criminal administration, and many other subjects are embraced in this splendid programme.

Who opposes the work which the Evangelical Alliance sets out to do? Not the Jew, not the Catholic, not the Protestant, not any one who can claim the respect and affection of his fellow-men. It is the nature of applied Christianity to commend itself to every human heart. It is not in its nature to excite opposition or hostility, because of its exceedingly sweet and winning character.

This occasion, following the Parliament of the World's Religions, is nothing less than a Parliament of the Churches of Christendom, with equal charity, in the spirit of Him who ate even with publicans and sinners in order that He might win their hearts and heal their sickness of sin. "Put up thy sword" is a perpetual command. The conquest of the world will come by the beauty of holiness, by living and acting the Golden Rule, and not by any methods of warfare, natural or spiritual. What this Congress may do, the tremendous impulse it may give to the work which it has come to perform, can scarcely be depicted, and yet may be foreseen. It may affect not only Christendom, but the whole world; for what affects Christendom affects the whole world. The mission of the Alliance is peace. It welcomes every ally in its work, and rejoices over every victory won.

With the hope that this closing Congress of the great Department of Religions in the work of the World's Congress Auxiliary may realize every hope and expectation entertained in regard to it, I salute you and bid you welcome.

Mr. William E. Dodge, President of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States.

President Bonney, and Ladies and Gentlemen: As representing the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, I want to tell you how much touched we are by the kindly welcome you have given us in this great City by the Lakes. I want to thank you, too, Mr. Bonney, for the clear, strong, and admirable way in which you have placed before us the work of the Alliance. Our name, "Evangelical," is not a narrow one. Our duty, our work, and our joy are to proclaim the evangel, "Peace on earth, good will to men;" to try, as far as we can, by our influence, by our publications, and by our meetings, to bring the teachings and the words and the example of Christ, our dear Lord, into the daily life of the world. We believe that the religion which He brought was not one for Sabbath services only, but for the whole life, the every-day life, the constant work of man. We believe, if the prayer which we all daily utter, that "God's kingdom may come, and His will be done on earth as in heaven," is to be answered, we as Christians must live as Christ lived and follow His example and teachings.

I do not mean to trespass upon your time. The first regular session of our Congress assembles to-night, and it will be my duty then, as its presiding officer, to present some details of our work,—to state what we hope and expect from this Congress, and to give you some suggestions as to the work of the week to come. I only want to ask your sympathy and help in the peculiar features of this Congress. Through all this summer wonderful Congresses have been held here, the admiration and delight of the country, giving a new impulse to education and science and art and philanthropy and to everything that is good. We hope in our meetings to aid in giving the facts and statistics and inspirations of those great Congresses vitality and permanent influence; to understand something of the opportunities for Christian work which are open to us; to feel more deeply the responsibilities pressing upon us; and to give definite and practical shape to our future efforts. To this end we have invited a large number of gentlemen and ladies who, through these last years, have been doing expert work, if I may so call it, in Christian efforts through this country.

Those who have touched and helped and influenced others in a good and kindly way, who have been successful in their work, are going to tell us, not in forced addresses or in learned papers, but just as they would tell you if they were sitting down by you, how they did their work, and how you may do it.

I shall have occasion to refer to this feature of the Congress this evening. I want to say, before closing—and you will forgive me for taking a single moment more—how deeply the Christian world of America feels its indebtedness to these brave and true men and women who have done such heroic and beautiful work through this last summer. These Congresses have added much to the wealth of the Exposition. Something greater than mere material growth and life has been thought of. Man as man, man in all his relations, has been considered and talked of wisely and admirably; and I feel sure that in speaking for myself I speak for all who are here, when I say that to Judge Bonney and to Dr. Barrows, and to Mrs. Potter Palmer and to Mrs. Henrotin, and others who have worked with them, the whole country feels a debt of gratitude which it can never pay. The ladies have shown us what the gentle side of Chicago is, and they have shown us that behind the silken and velvet hand there is a grasp of steel when it gets hold of anything good and true; I think I may say that, from this year on, the work of Christianity in this country will be ennobled and strengthened as never before. I feel most grateful that Dr. Barrows, the chairman of these Religious Congresses, to whom we are so much indebted, and Mrs. Palmer, are here and have consented to say a few words. I feel glad and honored that Dr. Curtiss, who has been the chairman of our local committee, and to whom we are so much indebted, is to be here and to speak to us. I hope that the spirit which filled these halls in the Parliament of Religions will be here with us—one of liberal hope, one of faith in the dear Lord; a faith and a hope that look not through narrow lines, but that see into the future. For those of us who are Christians the revelations of that Congress will never be forgotten. Strange faiths were represented, very far away from truth, as it has seemed to us; still in every one there has been the spirit of worship, of a real God, there has been the feeling of sin and its punishment, there has been the hope of reward and the looking forward into another world, the feeling of expiation for sin, and then dimness, as it seems to us, and dark-

ness beyond. Now, we believe that this simple religion of Christ, which we profess and love, has a deep, strong meaning, which will carry life into all those religions; that it includes everything that is good in them, and a hope and a truth beyond, which we pray and believe will come to them one of these days. And that is our work, dear friends—not to abuse others, not to criticise and find fault with them, but to so win them by the help of the Lord, to so show them that our religion is purer and stronger and reaches further and means more, that they will gladly be touched by its influence. That, I believe, is very largely to be the result of this Parliament, and may God grant that in the sessions of this Congress we may have something of the same holy influence!

There is one man who, by virtue of the marvellous ability with which he organized and conducted the great Parliament of Religions, is, I think, fairly entitled to be called the foremost evangelist in the world. His name is the Rev. Dr. John Henry Barrows, whom I now have the pleasure of presenting.

REV. JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D., CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS CONGRESSES.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We are often told that Chicago is noted for big things. At least we are told so by outsiders, never by ourselves. It is celebrated for its big warehouses, big railroads, big newspapers, big expectations and big achievements. But when I think of all the addresses of cordial greeting which the President of the World's Congress Auxiliary has given in the last five and a half months, I think that about the biggest thing in Chicago is the heart of a man who has been such an ample storehouse of welcome and salutation to more than one hundred and fifty Congresses. Like Lord Bacon, he has taken all knowledge to be his province; and like Paul, all men to be his brethren.

The long series of Congresses would be incomplete without the noble work represented by the Evangelical Alliance, one of the prophecies of a reunited Christendom. Cordially I bid you welcome to this Hall, made illustrious already by events of world-wide significance, and to this city, where the interest in this

series of world-conventions has been intense and widespread. I express your convictions and mine when I say that the Evangelical Alliance represents, in large measure, the spirit and the method by which this world is to be regenerated, by which the Gospel is to be brought most effectually to bear on the wants and woes of mankind, by which social and political evils are to be eradicated, and the empire of truth and liberty and tolerance and virtue and peace is to be enlarged and strengthened.

In planning for the Parliament of Religions, I always had gratefully in mind the Congress of Missions, and also this Christian Conference, as destined to follow that historical assembly and to indicate more fully the position and the work of evangelical Christendom. It has always been in my thought that the full showing of the spirit and work of Christianity could not be achieved without this meeting of the Evangelical Alliance. It is your purpose to bring Christian truth home in a closer and more practical way to all classes of workers, to make your meeting a school of applied Christianity. This will be the unique, this will be the splendid feature of your Congress, and I have no doubt, from the novel and wonderful programme that you offer us, that this will prove among the most important Conferences which you have ever held. Those who assemble during the next eight days in the Hall of Columbus will doubtless have much more community of conviction than was possible with the Congress of all the religions of the world. But I only hope that you will have equal enthusiasm, equal tolerance, equal kindliness, and equal fraternity. And with President William E. Dodge and Secretary Josiah Strong guiding your deliberations, as they have planned for your coming, I expect that the spirit which pervades this meeting will be not only evangelical, but thoroughly catholic. I believe that those two words, "evangelical" and "catholic," express the truth and the sentiment which are yet to renovate mankind and usher in more fully the new era of which Dr. Strong has written so wisely. Welcome, then, thrice welcome! And may the influences and the reports of this meeting, as they go out into many lands, contribute to the benigner tendencies among men, and help greatly what Dr. Schaff pronounces the two most important achievements presented for our faith and our works—the reunion of Christendom and the conversion of the world!

THE CHAIRMAN: Each one of the Congresses of this Exposition season has been organized with the help of a Committee of Organization. The Chairman of the Committee of Organizaation having in charge the Congress of the Evangelical Alliance is

PROFESSOR SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, D.D., CHAIRMAN OF THE LOCAL COMMITTEE OF ORGANIZATION.

We are met together to-day to answer one petition of our Lord, which is, "That they all may be one." It is a long time since that prayer was uttered, and we are now coming to the end of the century, and are preparing for a grand advance all along the line. If this Congress shall signify anything of the Evangelical Alliance, it will be that that prayer of our Lord and Savior may be answered. The best way to answer prayer is for us to bring the answer ourselves. In no other way can this petition of Jesus Christ come to pass.

There is certainly one basis on which we can all stand, and it is on that most important and thrilling verse in the New Testament—not thrilling to us, perhaps, because we have heard it so often, but thrilling, nevertheless, as we take it into our hearts and as we might think if we were reading it for the first time. "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life." That is a magnificent platform, and on that platform we can stand; and we should show, in this Alliance, and as representing its principles, something of the love of the Father when He sent His Son into this world, and something of the love of the Son when He came into this world. That is the blessed evangel which has come to man—the good news that God loves the world and that He means to redeem it, and is so much in earnest for its redemption that He sent His only and beloved Son.

In the presence of such a magnificent charter of our belief, all conditions which divide us as sects may be swept away. We do, dear friends, magnify the things that we might call unimportant. They are important in a way—our polity, our statements of doctrine. But after all, the great thing which we should magnify is the love of God for this world and the love of Jesus Christ to it; if we are filled with this love as God was and as Christ was, these things that divide us will be swept away, and

we shall be ready for the beginning of this twentieth century. Oh, how sad it is when we are divided up into parties, when we think more of our organizations and our special tenets of theology than of this grand march for the conquest of the world!

But I believe that a brighter day is dawning. I believe that the day is coming when those things which so certainly divide the different denominations of this country—differences of nationality which we have inherited from the other side of the ocean, differences of creed, differences of language—shall be swept away, and when we shall present to the world, as no other country can present to it, the union of evangelical denominations for the service of Christ.

"We are not divided,
All one body we,
One in faith and doctrine,
One in charity."

MRS. POTTER PALMER, PRESIDENT OF THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY, AND OF THE WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

I greatly appreciate the privilege of welcoming another of the wonderful gatherings which have successively, during the past five months, made this city the centre of interest for the entire world.

Of the remarkably picturesque parliament of theoretical religion and dogma which has recently absorbed our attention, the Congress now assembled is the natural culmination. The great seed of universal brotherhood and toleration which was then sown would be sterile and unprofitable did it not now result in an appropriate fruitage,—in its practical application to effective work of a non-sectarian character, and of universal beneficence.

I should omit my evident duty, however, if I did not use my moment of time in calling attention to the remarkable work which women have heretofore carried on in the field of mission work abroad, and in active charity at home. With the sanction and under the fostering care of the Church they first organized and found an outlet for their desire to carry comfort and healing

beyond the thresholds of their own homes. While silent in the churches on the *first day*, it has been their high prerogative to aid in keeping alive the spirit and practice of religion during the remaining six days of the week. The results accomplished have borne silent witness to their ability, and devotion to the cause of humanity.

These women are ready to respond to any new calls imposed on them by a higher conception of religion and of the universal brotherhood of men. In their names I venture to assure the members of this Congress of profound sympathy with, and desire to promote, any plans which may be evolved by this Conference.

I thank in advance the eloquent speakers who are now to address the active brains and sympathetic hearts, not alone of this audience, but of this country and the entire world, and to hope for a result that may be commensurate with the forces at our command.

LORD KINNAIRD OF GREAT BRITAIN.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I bear in my hand a letter signed by the President of the British Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, in which he says: "We are greatly interested in the forthcoming Alliance Congress in Chicago."

I saw Lord Polwarth three or four days before I left Scotland, and he desired me to say how intensely disappointed he was that his health would not allow his making this long journey. The honor, therefore, has been given to me of responding to the words of welcome which you have addressed to us.

If I may say so, I agree with all that has been said by the speakers, but I do not agree altogether with the heading under which I am put in this programme. I see I am called a foreign delegate. I don't feel a foreigner standing in Chicago. I feel as if I were at home, and especially being in a city like Chicago, I feel as if I were in my own city of London, for there are such things as distances here, and there are such things as crowds, and difficulty in getting from one end of the city to the other; and so I feel much at home. But I also feel at home when I think

how many there are who are working exactly in the same way. When I look around here, as I have been doing for the last two days, and meet many kindly faces whom I have known for years as workers in the kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, I do not quite like to be called a foreigner on this programme. You may look on me as one, but I don't look on you as foreigners, I can assure you.

May I say, then, as brethren in the Lord, and under this banner under which we are standing, we are one body in Christ? I did not feel like a foreigner towards Signor Prochet, when we met in Florence in the Evangelical Alliance Conference. We felt so happy there that we invited ourselves to go back again before long. May I re-echo the expectation that this World's Conference and this World's Fair are going to mark a fresh era? I was thinking of a little incident that happened one morning at family prayers, when a boy came to his mother and said, "I wish I had father's money." The mother at once began to read him a lesson upon being avaricious, and she said, "Why do you wish for your father's money?" The little boy said, "Because I think I could answer a good many of father's prayers, and it would save a good deal of time if he answered his own prayers instead of praying." I cannot but think, looking around here, that perhaps we have been praying for unity too long. I don't come here to work for unity. I come here because we are united, because we are working under one banner, because we have learned, I think, in London, and we have learned in Scotland, as you have learned here, I believe, what Peter found it hard to learn. It had to be sent to him three times. He had to learn that nothing was common or unclean. What God had consecrated, that he was not to call common. May we therefore get rid of many of our cant phrases, may we get rid of many of those petitions for unity! Let us get together, and that is the best way of getting our denominational differences settled. Oh, if we could only see one another in the face! At one of our committee meetings in London, a friend of mine, where they were divided between the different bodies, was questioned as to which he represented. He said he was not quite sure which side of the house he was on. He said, "I think you would better send to the London City Mission Committee and ask them whether I am a Churchman or a Non-conformist." I hope the time will come

when we shall hear less of our denominational names and when we shall unite together for the work we have to do.

I intend to frame this programme, to show that we are one, as we profess, and we believe that the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is going to bring all classes of our community together. Only grant that we may each one of us go and live Christ, that we may go and live by the Gospel of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and may every one, in his way or her way, seek so to live that others may be the better for that life. And so may we see, as we have in the past seen, that under the flag of Jesus Christ all improvement has been made, all advance in education, I think I may say without fear of contradiction that all giving to those who have not the same advantages we have, whether in athletics or in social reforms—all that has come by the Church of Jesus Christ. Let us take care that the devil does not get hold of the Church that Jesus Christ has consecrated to Himself. And may we therefore keep in touch with all these organizations, and so may we bring in the time for which we pray, for which we long, and for which we are met here together, not merely to talk over for a week, but believe that we shall get so much together that we shall never get apart again.

PROF. HENRY DRUMMOND OF SCOTLAND.

MR. PRESIDENT: The warmth of your greeting, ladies and gentlemen, reminds me also that I ought to protest, as the previous speaker has done, against being called a foreigner. A man who has been four times in America, and who has travelled up and down it half a dozen times, I think is entitled to the freedom of the country.

I simply wish to express my wonder and delight at the programme which has been put into our hands to-day. Like Lord Kinnaird, I shall frame it and keep it to remind me not only of the trends and torrents of evangelical thought in America, but of the sweep and breadth of the evangelical faith. I suppose some of us were beginning to feel that the word "evangelical" was getting a little tarnished. In our country the word, with a certain school, of whom I am not one, had even become a term

of reproach. You have heard of the definition of the three different kinds of religion in the English Church—the Broad Church, the High Church, and the Evangelicals—as latitudinarians, attitudinarians, and platitudinarians. The Evangelical was taunted with being a mere purveyor of platitudes, and the reproach has not been altogether or always undeserved, and Evangelicals have given very much of their strength to mere theoretical aspects of Christian truth, in contradistinction to what our President has called "applied Christianity." I am reminded of a story which it may be in order to tell, which I remember once telling Mr. Sankey, and which I hear he has been telling here, so that I hope it has not become what you call a "chestnut." It is a tale of a coast-guard station on the Italian coast. The Italian coast-guardsman sent a report to the government in the following words: "A large ship was seen in danger of being wrecked off this station last night. We endeavored to give every assistance through the speaking-trumpet, notwithstanding which forty corpses were washed ashore this morning." Now we have been in the past far too busy with the speaking-trumpet, and the other life-saving apparatus has not been used as it ought to be. In fact, it was denied that these other things, which are mentioned upon this programme, were really life-saving apparatus at all. Therefore my astonishment at finding on the programme of the Evangelical Alliance such heretical words as these: "Athletics, stereopticon sermons: What can the Churches do affecting Criminal Administration, and to affect the Labor Problem; to make Political Reforms, to make Substitutes for the Saloon, to deal with Tenement House Reform?" What has Christianity to do with Kindergartens and Chautauqua Circles and University Extension, and Fresh Air Funds, and Boys' Clubs, and Holiday Houses, and Outing Clubs? What has the Church to do with Public Baths, or with Savings Banks and Provident Funds, and Nurses? And yet, to such questions as these, three out of the eight days of this Conference are to be devoted. The proportion given to the social side of Christianity, which, if I am not altogether in the dark about the meaning of Christianity, was Christ's side of Christianity—I say not only the fact that time is given to these, but the proportion of time, is an exceedingly remarkable phenomenon, and marks an entirely new departure in the work of this Alliance. I venture to say that

this Alliance was in danger of extinction, had it not taken up these problems, and the Evangelical Alliance can scarcely express its debt to Mr. Dodge and to Dr. Strong for so splendidly rising to the exigencies of the moment, and including all these new movements within the range of Christianity. The social side of Christianity is in the air in every country. We see that we have been all wrong in narrowing down our conception of the doctrine of Christ to merely dealing with men as if they were souls, as if they were disembodied spirits. Now we see from this programme that the object of evangelical Christianity, at all events, is to leaven society in every direction — moral, social, and even political. And therefore one comes to the work of this Conference with a good heart, believing that nothing but good can come out of it, and knowing that the breadth and liberality and the splendid charity of this programme may become synonymous with the word "evangelical" in the future.

COL. L. ROOSMALE NEPVEU OF THE NETHERLANDS.

DEAR BRETHREN AND SISTERS: Allow me to speak out openly that I have a feeling of embarrassment to attempt to speak to you in the English language, and I hope that you will be kindly indulgent to me for the many mistakes I will certainly make.

Allow me, in the first place, to thank you for the welcome given to us as delegates. I have to bring you the greetings of the committee of the Evangelical Alliance of the Netherlands. Personally, I have joy in my heart and gratitude to God that I am here as a representative of my country, and my heart is warm with sympathy for the principles of the Evangelical Alliance. I am sorry to say that in my country there remains still much strife between the different churches and parties. Not all are agreed, at least in practice, with the principle of union and brotherly love. But still there remain in Holland many Christians who are desirous that we shall all be one, not only in theory and in faith, but in practice. And I hope that this Congress will be a blessing to us all personally, but also for all countries, and that a new spirit of union and love will come over all Christianity. In

Europe, in America, I believe dark clouds have come over all countries, and although my small country, Holland, is in many aspects much blessed by God, still there are many dark clouds which have come over us also, and it is much wished that Christians shall be more united and thus strong to resist bad spirits, sin and all that comes with it. May we all be here together in the spirit of humility and brotherly prayer and love!

My predecessor has said that he feels quite at home here. It is the first time that I am in America, but I may say I have a sort of feeling that I am at home amid you. Where we are together as Christians we must have the feeling to be as brothers and sisters together and to love one another, even if we have never seen each other before. Oh, may we be all blessed, and be more decided than ever to love one another, and also to try to bring more unity where God has placed us!

I am very sorry, dear friends, that I am a very bad English speaker, and that I may only say what I can, and not what I would.

COMM. MATTEO PROCHET, D.D., OF ITALY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When, last night, I received a paper in which I saw my name somewhat murdered, I really could not understand why such an insignificant man as myself had been put in with the speakers that have interested you this afternoon. But at last, when I think for awhile, some ideas even in my head come too, and I suppose that there must have been some hope that, coming from Rome, I was bringing in my bag a special blessing from my colleague who lives on the other side of the Tiber.

Well, I am sorry to disappoint you. I have not; though I do not entertain the least bad feeling towards him—not the least. The Tiber is flowing between us and carrying to the sea any bad feeling, if there were any, and I can declare here what I have declared everywhere—that whenever Leo XIII. will condescend to send me an invitation to a social cup of tea I will do my best to go and take it.

But, friends, it is a great thing to speak of the reunion of

Christendom in one family. If there is a subject which has my whole sympathies and my prayers, it is that. But let us not seek for that reunion in a line where a real union cannot be found. Certainly we evangelical members hope we are one; let us then try to bring that other party to understand and feel as we do, so that when we shall embrace each other, Italian fashion, it may be a real Christian kiss, and not the kiss which the unworthy disciple gave his Master. We want sincerity and loyalty, and then the union will be good.

But if I cannot bring you salutation and greetings from the other side of the Tiber, I can tell you that I could, if I had seen him, bring you the salutations of the King of Italy. In 1891 (Lord Kinnaird just reminded me of it) I liked him to know that we were going to gather in Florence, and I said to his Majesty that the Evangelical Alliance was going to meet there. "Evangelical Alliance," he said, repeating slowly the two words—"Allianza Evangelica." Well, of course, he did not like exactly to ask what it was, but the wish was very apparent, and even I did detect it. So of course I could not catechize the King of Italy and go through all the explanations, so I simply said, "Your Majesty, we may call them 'The Great Assize of Protestantism.'" Now I do not know whether he has understood that more than the other one, but he declared himself pleased; and that had something to do with the very kind telegram which he sent to the Evangelical Alliance sitting in Florence.

Then I may say, just as Paul said, "They that are from Italy salute you." I represent four fifths of the Italian-speaking Evangelicals of Italy, legally, if I may say so. In a spiritual way I represent the whole of them.

But there is another thing you will allow me to say. I have come to a country with a banner that has stars—the starred and striped banner. Well, sir, I come from a body of people that have had stars on their banners for seven hundred years; and these seven stars, surrounding the candlestick which was placed on the Holy Word of God, were there with this motto, "Lux lucet in tenebris"—"The light shineth in darkness." And that was the motto to which have been faithful the thousands and thousands of Waldenses that have paid with their blood the price of faithfulness. From them we bring you greetings.

Well, I cannot say, as did the good lord (and I envied you when

you came to that point), that I am not a foreigner. You are an Anglo-Saxon, as well as these gentlemen and ladies, you know. I am not, and I am not going to fling at your face that greatest of insults, flattery, and say that I wish I were. I am an Italian, and intend to remain an Italian. But, however, you know one may be an Italian and nevertheless feel at home in America. Now let me say this in confidence to you. You need to be a little more closely known in order to be appreciated. I remember when I landed in America, twenty years ago, for the first time, I was hoisted to the fifth floor of the St. James Hotel, Broadway, New York. Then when I looked all around and down from my windows on that immense metropolis, I did what I generally do when I go to another country—I took the candle and went to read the rules of the house on the door. Just imagine my bewilderment! Amongst the rules I saw this: "The landlord of the hotel is not responsible for the boots left outside." "Dear me!" said I, throwing my hands through my hair, which then was thicker than now, "if the St. James Hotel, which is said to be the cream of the hotels of New York, cannot answer for my boots, if I had fallen into another one I should have been murdered three times before now." So you see the first impression was not a good one. But when I went from place to place, when it was my great privilege to live with many and many an American family, the guest of friends belonging to almost all stations of life in the several states ah, then I have gone back to my country with a far different impression. I do not mean to say that you are angels; no. But certainly there is much of the angel likeness in the way in which your American ladies say to a foreigner coming to them, "Make yourself at home." I wish I could imitate it, but I know that I shall never succeed. And this I have said even to ladies of other countries, where also I have been well received.

So now, after extending to you my greetings from my people and from myself, and telling you how I feel, let me also say that I do wish with all my heart that our Lord may cause His Holy Spirit to descend and to form the atmosphere which we shall always breathe during all these days, so that we may go away with our spiritual lungs filled and our heart expanded, ready for the great work.

GEN. O. O. HOWARD, OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLMEN, BRETHREN: I have had Dr. Prochet at my house, and I have been drinking in a little of this praise that has come from him so freely, and I rejoice greatly. I just asked a friend of mine, a very learned man, if he could talk as well as that in Italian. I wish I could talk as well as that in English.

My heart responds very strongly to that last sentiment, of the descent of the Holy Spirit of the living God. Once an infidel put in my hand a book and asked me to read it. It was a book that he had been reading and pondering for years—magnificently written; but he had come up to the point where he had found that all he had done had been unsatisfactory to his soul, and a friend had been conversing with him, and he came to me and gave me that book and asked me if I would read it. I remembered what Mr. Moody—whom you in this city so honor and who has done so much in the last several months in keeping the spirit of the Lord constantly before the people—said to me, as an infidel tract was put in my hand,—"Don't read it." He took it and tore it up and threw it on the ground. He said, "General don't take poison into your system." So I said to this infidel friend, "I do not want to read it. I want to be a Christian. I would rather be a Christian. That man may be stronger than I; I would rather not read the book" Then he said, "Won't you read it for my sake?" I said, "If you put it on that ground, I will." I took it and went away and read it. And I wrote at the bottom of about the second page, "What is needed here is the Holy Spirit of the living God." I went through a little further, and wrote again the same thing at the bottom of another page; and I believe I wrote it once more, and I gave the book back to him. In a few days he was standing up in a meeting, very much like this of the Evangelical Alliance, and with trembling lips asking the brethren to pray for him. He was an orator, and he could speak no more. But in a little while he came out of the darkness into the light, out of the sorrow into the joy. God grant that the spirit of the living God may conduct us until we shall conquer the nations in His name!

President C. K. Adams, LL.D., of the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. President and dear Friends: It was hardly fair that the warning did not come to me at least two minutes before I was expected to appear upon my feet. I came here without a thought that I should be asked to say a word, and I will say only this: that I am in most hearty sympathy with the work of the Evangelical Alliance. I have been accustomed to know something of the work of the Christian Association in the United States, especially in its relation to the colleges and universities. We there see brought together young men, and in some institutions also young women, from the different churches, uniting for the purpose of doing the Lord's work, and I conceive of the Evangelical Alliance as doing for the people at large what the Christian Associations in the colleges and universities are doing for the young men, in bringing people of all creeds and denominations together for the purpose of doing something for the advancement of Christianity. I hope that these meetings may be successful. I am sure that they will be, if we can regard the meeting this afternoon as an augury of what is to occur in the course of the six or seven or eight days to come. I wish you all God-speed, and if we are united, and if we carry out from the meeting the spirit which here prevails, I am sure we shall all have been benefited by our coming.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

By William E. Dodge, President Evangelical Alliance for the United States.

Chicago, Sunday Evening, October 8, 1893.

The Evangelical Alliance for the United States, under whose auspices this Congress has been called, has during the last fifty years held various great Conferences. The meeting in New York in 1873 was International, and one of the series held in the leading capitals of the world by the Associated Alliances of all countries. It had a great influence and was a distinct power for good.

The Conventions held in Washington in 1887 and in Boston in 1889 were National—studying the social and religious conditions of our own country. They called together many earnest men, and have resulted in practical and successful Christian work in all sections of our land.

The object of the present Congress is simple and direct. We wish to reaffirm our belief in the essential unity of all believers, and repeat our assurance that they can only come closer to each other as they come closer to Christ, and to all those for whom He died.

But we are especially met to study the present position of Protestant Christendom, to learn the new conditions which are affecting the social and religious life of the world, to know the wonderful opportunities for good which are open to the Church, and which afford development for its unused power and resources—to feel more keenly our duty and responsibility, and we hope to suggest such practical methods as may enable Christians of all names to work gladly and in hearty co-operation, and this without at all interfering with their loyalty to the several denominations to which they belong.

In gathering here we leave for a time all party names. We

try to forget, for the moment, the points of doctrine and dogma and form of worship on which we are accustomed to place peculiar emphasis, and meet alone as Christian brothers, devoted to the same Father, and to the dear Lord and Master who has honored us alike, by calling us to His friendship, and asking us to work with Him and for Him.

There is a peculiar fitness and charm in the time and the place of our gathering.

As Americans we have asked all the world to join with us in celebrating the discovery of this new continent. We remember how the Old World was started into new life from the stagnation of the Middle Ages, by the reports of the voyages of Columbus. The lust of conquest and of new empires, the opportunities of sudden and fabulous wealth to nations and individuals, and above all, the hope of extending the true faith to a new continent, gave a fuller impulse to the life of the world, changed the policies and fate of nations, and laid the foundations of the new civilization which makes the world of to-day.

In this newest born but most vigorous of the great cities of the world, this beautiful metropolis of the West, genius, courage, and marvellous working force have founded in this commemorative year an Exposition illustrating the material progress of the world. For beauty, fitness, and superb daring, for successful overcoming of apparently impossible difficulties, for architectural audacity and genius, and for landscape grouping, this Exposition has a charm beyond anything ever attempted in the world.

The hearty and easy co-operation of statesmen, architects, painters, landscape gardeners, and men of affairs in bringing about this wonderful result is a lesson to us, who, as Christians, are spending so much of our strength in pulling apart from each other and insisting so intently upon our peculiar views and dogmas.

But magnificent as has been the material advance of the world, we all believe that modern civilization means something deeper and fuller. This has been recognized by the wise and strong men who have directed the Exposition, and for the first time the advance of man as man has formed an integral part of their plan. A series of great Congresses was arranged, and has been successfully carried out on a broad and comprehensive scale. These Congresses have illustrated the advancc in Science, Art,

Philanthropy, Social Economy and Religion, and in everything which tends to elevate, develop, and instruct our race, to mitigate suffering, to increase knowledge, and bring the world nearer to a common brotherhood. The facts, statistics, and exact knowledge gathered at these Conferences will be of greatest value, and will give a new impulse to the world's life.

In this special Congress we hope to gather the information, statistics, and facts which have been presented in all the various Conferences of the summer, so far as they relate to the religious and social conditions of the times, and to draw from them practical lessons of real value. We propose to study the present wonderful liberty for Christian work in all parts of the world, and to pledge ourselves anew to defend by all proper means and influences the freedom of religious thought and life in all lands.

The religious condition of all the Protestant countries will be presented by able and distinguished men who have honored us by their presence and sympathy. Christian union and co-operation, its possibility and absolute necessity, will be fully discussed. But especially we shall consider the relations of the church to the social problems and needs of our times.

A new feature of this Congress will be a large and carefully prepared series of section conferences, which will constitute a school of instruction in practical and successful Christian work. A new life is rapidly coming into the church, and earnest and devoted men are everywhere ready to engage in unselfish work as fast as opportunities are offered to them. We recognize how few have the gift of initiative, and how many fear mistakes and failures.

These sectional meetings will not present theories, but those who have carried out practically and successfully Christian work along many lines will tell of their methods in a simple and direct way, and answer questions as to all points of interest. Many of these friends have come from long distances, with much self-sacrifice, to inform us as to their work, and we believe what they have to tell will be of the greatest value. Direct and practical information will be had in these meetings, which will enable many of us to go home and commence like work without difficulty or fear of failure. We shall be delighted and surprised to find by how many avenues, and in how many ways,

we can reach and help the needy ones about us, from whom we have been so long separated. Most of all, we shall each understand with new emphasis that, notwithstanding our self-distrust and unwillingness to believe that we have gifts of any value in the carrying on of God's work on earth, there is a place and opportunity for each of us, and that our ability will grow with use.

It is our devout hope that the meetings of this Congress will be so earnest, so deeply spiritual, and so practical that none of us will go away without a new impulse for service and a new consecration.

The greatly esteemed General Secretary of our Alliance, Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong, has lately published a new book, and as he is too modest to speak of it in his own address, I venture to commend it most warmly. It is called the "New Era," and like his former work, "Our Country," will, I am sure, exert a great influence for good. It is the result of years of careful thought and large experience. The theme underlying all its teaching is, that if God's kingdom is to come, and His will to be "done on *earth* as in heaven," we must work along the lines given in Christ's last tender words, "This is my commandment, That ye love one another *even as I have loved you.*" This cuts deeper and means more than the Golden Rule. *He* left the joys of heaven. *He* suffered on earth. *He* died for us. When all the members of his church learn to love, and to suffer, and to work in this spirit, then the kingdom will indeed come.

But the work must be done wisely and carefully, not from impulse and sentiment. We must use all the resources at our command. Our time, our money, our learning must all be gladly laid on the altar. We must understand that God's way, which we cannot question, is that the world shall be redeemed by the message of the gospel carried to every creature by his church on earth. Not a gospel which shall save only in the life to come, but a full gospel which has glad tidings of hope and light for the life that now is—a gospel which will solve all social troubles, and bring gladness into every sad and suffering heart.

Fatalism in some of its forms has been the insidious foe of the church in all ages. Christians have seen ignorance and poverty and sin all about them, and have felt hopeless and helpless. They have rejoiced if now and then they could aid in helping

one sad soul into the light, but the great mass of trouble and vice and heathenism at home and in far countries has seemed beyond their power, and many have been willing to fold their hands and wait God's time. They forget that his will is that the work shall be done by them, and if they but put themselves and all they have unreservedly in his hands, he will furnish the power and open the way.

Modern science has taught us great lessons in this direction. For centuries the dread diseases which desolated the world, the plague, smallpox, cholera, and yellow-fever, were believed to be direct visitations from heaven, which could only be fled from or suffered. It is now understood in all the civilized world that care and use of proper means can ward off or stamp out these terrible visitants. So all the great social diseases and evils that confront us must be met by careful study of their conditions ; the methods of science must be freely used, and light brought in from all successful experience with the certainty that practical ways will be found to overcome them. This is a supreme duty of the Christian church.

The true test of orthodoxy and union to Christ will always be found in souls saved from sin, and society redeemed from evil. So only will the world know that we are led by the simple teachings of Christ. Jonathan Edwards said, "There may be other ways of knowing that a tree is a fig tree, but the best and surest is that it bears figs."

Those who love Christ must lay aside minor differences even if they have cherished them so deeply as to make the yielding of them a real sacrifice. The various divisions of Christ's army, divided, scattered, and overlapping each other, without unison of purpose or true knowledge of each other, must become united and compact, working together with full consecration and earnest purpose. With each member feeling his personal duty, the church would be irresistible. Christian faith and practice must enter into all the duties of life consistently and wisely. In God's eyes there is no difference between secular and religious. All life is sacred and holy, and the brightness and joy of life can only be known when this is felt.

How can we expect to convert the heathen when every ship which conveys a missionary to foreign shores carries rum enough to destroy a tribe ; when the example of those from Christian

countries who reside in heathen lands neutralizes all the teachings of devoted men; when opium and rum are forced upon unwilling people to increase the wealth of Christian lands?

The Christian public sentiment must be awakened, educated, and made dominant in all public affairs, until it is felt by all men that to send missionaries to convert the Chinese to Christ, and then to treat the Chinese who come to our own land with a barbarity and intolerance which pagans would be ashamed of, is making a farce of religion, and disgracing our country and our Saviour.

We rejoice in the large progress of the various branches of the church in foreign and home missions, in generous gifts, and in a fuller charity. We are glad to believe that there are new life and higher aims, but those who view us from the outside still see time and strength given to denominational differences, and to the man-made machinery of the church. They see us sometimes intolerant to those who differ from us in what are not really essential points. They see we put the emphasis upon what certain men in a different age have said and taught about God's Word, rather than upon God's Word itself. They see us living in the past, rather than in the splendid opportunities of the present, or the glorious possibilities of the future. Above all, they do not believe we live up to the simple, direct teachings of our Lord. And we must ourselves confess that with all the great advances of the church of Christ in missionary and educational work, and with all the hopeful signs of new vigor, there are still vital points on which we have much to learn.

In all parts of the Christian world population is massing in great cities and manufacturing centres, but in these places with rare exceptions the Protestant church is not in touch with the wage-earning classes, and is becoming more and more estranged from them.

In some way our methods are wrong. The well-to-do build churches in the better parts of the town and provide cheap missions for the so-called poor. These missions do good rescue work, but do not reach the working-men. Even where successful evangelistic work is done in halls and special churches, definite plans are seldom adopted to bring into warm and close Christian communion those who have been reached or to drill them into useful workers. There is a want of brotherhood and common in-

terest strangely at variance with the spirit of the gospel. This is not in accord with Christ's example or his teaching. The common people heard him gladly, and it was the charm of his life that he was in close sympathy with the lonely and needy. Our great city churches are practically for a special and favored class. They are kept up at great cost, and largely open only a few hours on the Sunday, and then to those who hold pews in them. They are silent and dumb—without hospitality or invitation, during all the week, while every force of evil is in full life. Our isolated country churches in the United States are rapidly weakening even in the older sections, and exerting less and less influence.

Our theological schools have hardly enough students to fill vacant pulpits, and the methods of education, admirable in themselves, hardly prepare men for work in the hard and poorly-paid places in our great cities and needy country districts. The rank and file of our churches are, as a rule, not drilled to personal aggressive work as a definite part of their Christian life, and our ministers are often content to be our teachers and comforters rather than our leaders.

These and many other problems do not arise from want of heart, but from want of knowledge. Our methods are not adapted to present conditions. In this Congress we hope to find some help and a new inspiration. Such gatherings as this give us an opportunity to take observations, and to find where we are. If God, who always gives new light and clearer vision to those who seek him, shall be with us here, we shall go away with a large faith and a high resolve.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

By Rev. Simon J. McPherson, D.D., Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago.

Mr. President and Brethren: It is my honorable and pleasing privilege to welcome the Evangelical Alliance, with its distinguished officers and speakers, its delegates and all its visitors, to our city, our homes, and our hearts. The churches of Chicago salute you in the beloved name of our common Lord. We pray that the Father of mercies may gird your hearts with filial love and touch your lips with holy fire, that the grace of the Crucified may inspire the thought and work of all your sessions, and that the Spirit of power may quicken the influence of your Conference with his enduring benediction.

Our welcome is all the warmer because we can cordially congratulate you upon the noble record of the Alliance. Not to mention its earlier achievements, we gratefully recall the recent meetings in Washington and Boston which signalized a higher stage in the practical attitude of our American church. Mightily did they emphasize the national perils and needs still remaining in America four hundred years after its discovery, and clearly did they discriminate these perils and needs as essentially spiritual. In that way they challenge the church of Christ to recognize those opportunities which are incentives and obligations to his faithful followers, and to apply those remedies which he has himself provided for stricken men in his incarnate life, his royal law of love, and in his bloody cross, broken tomb, and quickening Spirit. Scathingly, however affectionately, they rebuked every American church that allows itself to be absorbed with speculating about metaphysical mysteries, with formulating Pharisaic and decisive subtleties of creed, or with sitting at ease in Zion, while immortal men are perishing from its neglect. That those meetings served their purpose is attested by the prevailing unrest of

conscience, the eager practical questionings, and the multiplying moral experiments of American churches and Christians.

We welcome you now because you come earnestly seeking to devise ways and means of meeting the hunger for service which you have helped create. The programme of this Conference, I am glad to see, is predominantly positive. While it contemplates a survey of the field, its prime purpose is to secure an equipment of Christian forces. It accentuates, not the sin which abounds and which proclaims itself, but the grace which much more abounds, yet which waits upon our ministry to be proclaimed and applied. Here and now, therefore, we have arrived at the very standpoint of the New Testament and of Christ. We would deal specifically not so much with the science of pathology or even of diagnosis, but with the art of healing. The cure of souls is our motto. Like our Master, the Great Physician, we are here not to judge the world but to save the world, not to classify but to seek the lost.

Therefore we are peculiarly glad to welcome you to our own city. If it be in any sense exceptional, it is so most of all because it is exceptionally representative and typical of the greater cities of America. It is young and huge and crude ; it is growing with miraculous rapidity ; it is a half-assimilated agglomeration of half a hundred nationalities ; it is the habitat of every vice that the devil has invented to murder manhood, and of every virtue that the Saviour bestows to redeem wasted character ; its sinners are deeply entrenched, but its Christians are aggressive and determined ; it affords a free, fair field for the life-and-death struggle of sin and grace ; it is quivering with mingled peril and promise, and it is instinct, at every hour and in every fibre, with unimaginable capabilities. Every urgent *urban* problem of the age is at home in this combined Corinth and Jerusalem of the West.

Moreover, this city is the metropolis of a vast tributary empire, wielding a regnant influence over millions ; and, on the other hand, she is herself consciously tributary in turn to that empire, living on the sustenance of the wide Mississippi Valley. Not only does her material life depend upon the adjacent prairie fields and granaries, but her mental and moral life is recruited from the adjacent prairie towns and farm-houses. Nowhere are city and country more closely interdependent. Every urgent *rural* problem of the age demands solution here in the interests of

both. If no other region, as some suppose, betray a greater need of the gospel, neither does any other afford a better opportunity for the gospel. The power of God unto salvation could not find a more inviting field for its believing agents. Naturally, therefore, my fellow-disciples, we welcome your help and counsel. But we may not trust in it. Christ cannot lose his battle, here or elsewhere, if we dare to put our exclusive trust in him. Since he reigns, at once the Lion of the tribe of Judah and the Lamb as it had been slain in the midst of the throne of God, our victory with Him shall surely come.

We welcome you also because you preach to us the gospel of hard work, which is even yet, conspicuously, good news in some quarters of Christendom. This Congress is among the last of an unprecedentedly long series. For months these walls have resounded with speech-making, like a church which knows little else but preaching. I do not disdain this reasoning together, more than I scorn the foolishness of preaching. When, like the trumpets at Jericho, it is the instrument of God, it is mighty in pulling down the strongholds of sin. Some of the speaking here has been eloquent, much of it has been learned, most of it has been wise and stimulating, but all of it, so far as its fruitfulness can be traced, has been as yet but little more than talk; and talk alone never can redeem the world. One chief defect of the church at some periods has been her too exclusive reliance upon the strife of tongues. Forgetful of the prayer, "Establish Thou the work of our hands," she has permitted outside agencies to steal her efficiency. But the times in this respect are improving; the modern church building does not consist entirely of an audience-room. The Evangelical Alliance is doing much to effect improvement. This Congress, therefore, comes appropriately at the end of the series, because its object is distinctively and immediately practical. It comes, too, at a time when churches are rallying for their year's work. It promises concrete plans and methods, evangelistic, reformatory, educational, social, economic, redemptive, regenerative. It appeals to the latest and most successful experience. Many of its speakers are themselves object-lessons. But, far more, it points the way to the most ideal and comprehensive work on earth, work which is the very measure of God's eternal love and of Christ's infinite atonement; and that work is the salvation of the whole of every

man and of the wide world of humanity. There is something heartening, even inspiring, in thus catching glimpses of that perspective which constitutes the dispensation of the Holy Spirit.

We welcome you quite as much, dear brethren, because you are likewise openly advocating the co-operation, if not the organic union, of all these evangelical churches. Within a month this building received the famous Parliament of Religions, a very wonderful, spectacular gathering, literally unparalleled in the annals of time, planned and carried through with prodigious industry, enthusiasm, and skill, enlisting remarkable popular interest, and conveying to many, no doubt, unusual information on the subject of comparative religion. It served at least to exhibit the common humanity which devotees of the ethnic religions share with us who are Christians. Some ardent souls have ventured to fancy that this Parliament opens the door to one, new, final, and absolute religion, compounded as an olio out of all the historic faiths. We know that this fancy is an iridescent dream, impracticable, and, so long as Christ is King of kings, undesirable. Why, the reunion of Christendom itself is at present impossible. Even for any early consolidation of evangelical churches very few of us are as yet really ripe. We may long and pray for it, as the Christ did; but there is so much quicksilver in every known amalgam that it can actually come only after we have long been dead. But the co-operation, or federation, of evangelical churches for practical work is already emerging in the yearnings of consecrated hearts and in the workings of such bodies as the Evangelical Alliance. May God hasten it in its time! You are teaching the churches to abate the nuisance and scandal of divisive sectarianism.

1. You are illustrating, for instance, the fact that we can all personally cultivate the spirit of loving fellowship with all our brethren. Continuing, as we must, to be loyal to our several convictions and candid in their maintenance, remaining, so far as conscience and Providence will permit, in the ecclesiastical relations which we now hold, we can still, as St. Peter urges, be "all like-minded, sympathetic, loving as brethren, tender-hearted, humble-minded: not rendering evil for evil, or reviling for reviling: but contrariwise blessing" (1 Pet. 3: 8, 9). Reunion is rather a matter of the spirit than of the body. It will consist, when it comes—and in that sense it is already gloriously near—

not in any dull uniformity of external organization, but in the fellowship of kindred minds—kindred to the mind that was in Christ.

2. You are teaching us that we can work together in the good works as to which we all agree. We can stop wasteful and ruinous ecclesiastical competition, and support the common agencies which are doing the work of all true churches because they are doing the work of the one Christ. We can refuse, in our home and foreign mission work, to duplicate churches which, to the amazement of hard-headed outsiders, differ mainly in human names and incidental methods; and we must do so speedily in small places where one church is more effective than two, and two are better than a dozen. We can combine with sister-denominations in the same field instead of trying to steal each other's sheep while the goats go all but unanimously to the left hand; we can farm the whole field systematically instead of working some parts of it six times over and leaving the other parts to the tares and the devil altogether; and so we can keep in mind, not the ambition of denominational statisticians, but the need of dying sinners and the travail of the redeeming Christ.

3. We can lay the stress of our thinking and preaching and working upon those great essentials of Christianity on which all evangelical churches agree, rather than upon those peculiarities and incidentals which really divide them. All parties are wrong so far as they elevate secondary truths into the primary place. For example, all the churches represented in this Alliance hold in common to the vital truths of redemption by Christ. Not a single one of them, in my belief, has among its distinctive tenets anything necessary to the salvation of men. Nevertheless, every one of these sects still stands apart from all the rest in order to emphasize its subordinate and relatively trivial peculiarities. It is clearly a wrong and dangerous emphasis. Many of us welcome the Alliance because it is doing so much to transfer that emphasis to the vital messages of the gospel.

4. Hence, the greatest thing that you are teaching us is to exalt the living Christ alone. Supremely wrong are all Christian workers and all churches that devote themselves to lieutenant leaders instead of giving their undivided allegiance to the Prince of kings. Paul, Apollos, Cephus; Calvin, Wesley, Pusey! What are they but ministers by whom the one Master is proclaimed?

Find the true test of denominations in the old, inspired question: "Is Christ divided?" Partisanship which obscures him is ecclesiastical treason; but such denominationalism as obeys him wholly and lifts him up within the sight of all for whom he died is a mere detail in the conventional marshalling of his army. For he is all and in all; he is the sole and sufficient Savior of mankind. Every sort of denominational Christian finds all peculiarities utilized and all aptitudes satisfied in him.

But the sectarian Christian is a fractional man and a disorganizing workman. Only the Christian who recognizes himself as completely defined by his name, as a suffix to Christ, is an integral man and a subordinate savior of his fellows. This vitalized Christian, whose whole religion is in Jesus Christ, and is Jesus Christ, will glory, not in his sect, which is a segment of selfishness, but in the one Christian Church, which is the hope and help of men, and in our blessed common Lord Himself, who is the alpha of the Church and the omega of humanity. Accordingly, beloved, we welcome you cordially inasmuch as you assist us in realizing this sublime consummation.

THE SIGNIFICANCE TO CHRISTIANITY OF THE DISCOVERY AND THE HISTORY OF AMERICA.

OPENING ADDRESS, SUNDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 8, 1893.

By President Merrill Edwards Gates, LL.D., Amherst College.

In these days, when by the help of electricity we divide our seconds into fractions, if we would get such a theme as that for this evening fairly before us, we shall do well to throw aside, as far as we may, the conditions of time. We need a larger unit of measurement than the year. The poets help us to get such a unit; and a Russian author, Ivan Tourguéneff, in a little prose poem has left us this dialogue:

"The Alpine summits—a complete chain of steep precipices, right in the heart of the Alps. Over the mountains is a pale green, clear, silent sky. Hard, biting frost; firm, sparkling snow; dark, weather-beaten, ice-bound crags rise from beneath the snow. Two colossi, two giant mountains, rise from the horizon on either side,—the Jungfrau and the Finster-Aarhorn. The Jungfrau asks her neighbor, 'What is the news? You can see better; what is going on down there below?'

"Thousands of years pass by,—as one moment. And Finster-Aarhorn thunders back the answer, 'Impenetrable clouds veil the earth. . . . Wait!'

"Again thousands of years pass,—as one moment.

"'Well, what now?' asks the Jungfrau. 'Now, see,—everything there is changed, confused, and petty. Blue water, dark woods, heaped-up masses of gray stone, with those little insects running all about, you know,—the two-legged ones, which have never yet ventured to intrude upon your summit or mine.'—'Men?'—'Yes, men.'

"Again thousands of years pass by as a moment.

"'Well, what now?' asks the Jungfrau.

"'It seems to me as if fewer of those little insects are to be seen,' thunders Finster-Aarhorn. 'It is getting clearer down there. The waters are narrower, the woods are thinner.'

"Again thousands of years pass by,—like one moment.

"'What do you see now?' asks the Jungfrau.

"'Round about us, near by, it seems to have got clearer,' answers Finster-Aarhorn; 'but down there in the distance, in the valleys, there are still some spots and something moving.'

"'And now?' asks the Jungfrau, after thousands of years more,—a mere moment.

"'Now, all is well!' answers Finster-Aarhorn;—'clear and shining everywhere, pure white wherever you look . . . Our snow everywhere; nothing but snow and ice. All is frozen. All is calm and peaceful.'

"'Yes, now it is well!' answers the Jungfrau. 'But we have talked enough, old friend; let us sleep awhile.'

"'Yes,—it is time we did.'

"They sleep, the giant mountains. The clear green sky, too, sleeps above the ever-silent earth."

And so the history of our race is summed up between question and answer, as these mighty snow-clad ones watch over the chilled globe where the nations have had their day!

If we are to understand what the discovery of a new continent means, if we are to appreciate the import, to the race, of that new-world life which becomes an element in the history of mankind from the date of the discovery which we celebrate, we must take a large, cosmic view of the life of mankind.

GOD IS IN THE LIFE OF MEN.

"We believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth." We begin with the postulate that God is, and that God is in history. We believe in God. We believe in "Immanuel, God with us." The existence of God does not depend upon the last bright thought of the latest popular essayist. God is. This is the central fact of the universe, and the most significant truth known to the human mind. The thought of God is a power in the life of men, not because men think it, but because God *is*, because he has willed that the thought of himself, rising upon the life of men, shall sway them as the sun sways the planets,

shall make life fruitful, as the sun's heat brings on the spring and draws life from the dead earth. God IS; and God is with men to bless them. God is like men, since He made man in his own image. The goodness and the virtues of man, we say it reverently, are the goodness and the virtues of God. The incarnation of the Son of God has made it forever impossible for a man to attain to a true knowledge of God while he despises or fails to love his fellow-men who are made in God's image.

God the Father is in intimate relations with men, with the children of men whom he calls to be the children of God. All the phenomena of growing life are God's will in action. All life is directly from him; and everywhere, the life that God gives is a life that grows and unfolds. Christ's own law is "first the blade," but infolded in the blade are all the potentialities of the hundred-fold fruitage, as the ordered life of the blade unfolds.

GOD IS IN THE LIFE-HISTORY OF NATIONS.

With the individual and with the nation, life is from God. In the simple truth that God wills a life for a man or a nation,—that the life-impulse has been given, the life-giving touch from that outstretched hand of God which is never far removed from us,—in this simple truth are infolded all the possibilities of that life for the individual, for the nation, which in the given environment and in the given measure of time shall unfold itself in accordance with the plan of Him who "sees the end from the beginning." In the lives of Christian men and the Christian nations, God embodies his own truth, and exhibits his own thought of what is essential for the life of those sons of God who are the sons of men.

NO BLANK PAGES IN GOD'S HISTORY OF THE RACE.

Since we as Christians hold these convictions concerning the existence of God and his loving interest in the life of our race, we expect to find significance in the opening of a new continent to the life of civilized man. God is not a meaningless writer. There are no blank pages in his volumes of history. And when he lays open, before that pen of destiny which writes the record of the race, the broad fair pages of a new continent, and in the burst of new light that heralds a fresh morning for the race, that pen of destiny, held in a Father's hand, proceeds to write the

record of a new volume in the life of mankind, we may feel assured that a fresh interest will attach to the record. The new environment provided, the new social forces called into play, mean a broader, a deeper, a higher revelation, of the thought and purpose of God toward the race of man, whom he is fitting for that higher and more perfect life which is life eternal.

For the religious life of the race, there is a supreme significance then in the opening of the new world. Over the weltering waste of waters that surrounded this western world, the Spirit of the living God was brooding. Out of chaos was to come a new social creation, a fresh revelation of the spirit of Christ in the lives of men.

> " The sea that fast hath locked in his loose flow
> All secrets of Atlantis' drowned woe
> Lay bound about with night on every hand,
> Save down the eastern brink a shining band
> Of day made out a little way from land.
> Then from that shore the wind upbore a cry:
> 'Thou sea, thou sea of darkness! why, oh why,
> Dost waste thy West in unthrift mystery?'
> But ever the idiot sea-mouths foam and fill,
> And never a wave doth good for man, or ill,
> And Blank is king, and Nothing hath his will."
>
> —*Lanier.*

MEANING OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY.

But brooding over this waste, God the Spirit was preparing to summon forth new life; and it is suggestive and like the condensed, all-inclusive phrases in which Holy Scripture conveys truths about natural science fuller and more significant than the minds of the writers could comprehend, that the name of the hero who 400 years ago discovered America, is typical of God's purpose in the discovery and peopling of this new continent. Christopher means "the Christ-bearer"; Columbus, "the dove."

> " August thy import, great symbolic name!
> There sounds in thee the voice of prophecy
> Foretelling heavenly power and destiny
> Sublime for this new world,—thy crown of fame.
> 'Christophorus'—the very name we claim;
> For we Christ-bearers to the world would be,
> Disclosing lands of God beyond the sea

Of time and change and mortal grief and shame.
Columbus, word celestial! Evermore
The Dove of Peace, serene and spirit-bright,
Shall wing his way from us to every shore,
Sure-poised for his pacific, world-wide flight.
Significance supreme and splendor o'er
Our land be poured by thee, great name of Light."

—*Mrs. Merrill E. Gates.*

In this opening of the portals to the rising sun of eastern civilization, to the Sun of Righteousness, what was done for the Christian world, for the kingdom of God? Now that four centuries have passed, can we see something of the meaning of the opening up of this new world?

It was hard to see the true significance of this new continent, when Spaniards, in the name of Christ, were hunting down with blood-hounds the defenceless inhabitants of Peru; or when the oppressive despotism of Louis XIV. threatened to fix itself as the dominant power upon the continent; or when the accursed spread of human slavery, in our own land, shamed our alleged devotion to freedom and blasted the growing life of the nation. Are the shadows lifting, and can we now see a larger meaning than could have been discerned fifty years ago?

There is a meaning in this large, new life for the race. God challenges our thought. He would have us *will* to know His purposes. Reverently, in the light of facts which are "divine things," can we see something of God's meaning?

A NEW LIFE REQUIRES A NEW ENVIRONMENT.

If God had been preparing for the race a new, a fuller revelation and development of Christian life,—following the plan on which He has uniformly worked in history, what would be needful in order that this larger thought of God might become embodied in the life of man?

Every organism requires for its life an environment, a "*pou sto.*" It must have ground, room for growth, air and light, and nourishment suited to its need.

Every germinal organism, if it is to grow, demands a nourishing plasma—a material in which it can freely lay hold, which it can appropriate and build up into its own tissue after its own type.

The larger, fuller, richer conception of the Christian life

which has come into the world through the life of this western continent, demanded for its growth a new field, and such conditions of social and political life as the world had never seen. This continent God had kept new and fresh, untainted by the long record of crime, unfettered by centuries of precedent, that on it these new ideas might be developed. In point of geologic history, our continent is older than the Old World. Our mountain ranges and certain of our coast lines were perhaps the first land lifted from the deep. But so far as the recorded history of mankind is concerned, late in time ours was still a virgin soil. The geologists and the biologists know what records of countless generations of life have passed into the rocks and the earth, for the enrichment of what we call a virgin soil. The new world was the heir of all the ages! Countless generations of vegetable and animal life had stored its coal-mines and enriched its soil. So the continent was prepared,—enriched by the flow of rivers and the fall of myriad forests; and then it waited for God's hour.

Savage races here and there wandered over its face, leaving scanty traces to show that they had passed that way. Civilization is measured by the control of mind over matter. Even the most civilized of these wandering races have hardly marked the face of mother earth. A few window-like openings in the cliffs above our western plains, such openings as the sand-martins make in a summer, for winter's storms to obliterate; a few shapeless mounds in our central valleys to puzzle the savants; a little scarring of the earth's surface in Central America to record the extravagances of human sacrifice,—this is all. We do not forget the wonders of the civilization of Peru under the Incas. But as a dream, it passed.

MAN MUST LEARN HIS OWN WORTH BEFORE AMERICA WAS OPENED TO HIM.

On the continent thus prepared and reserved was "ample space and verge enough" for the inscription of this new message from God, done into the life of men. The continent was kept intact until man began to know his own worth. And his own worth he could not know until God had come into the race as a measure of the worth of man, and the unfolding meaning of the life of God with men had laid hold on the great civilizations of

Greece and Rome, and in the progress of the centuries, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, had brought out the larger possibilities of Christian manhood and Christian womanhood. Not until the Reformation had taught the Christian world afresh the value of the individual man, standing erect, the Bible in his hand, fearless before priest and king, reverent before his God, was the race prepared to enter this New Hemisphere, and to begin to learn the great object-lesson which God is teaching to men through the life developed here.

Columbus had not discovered America when Luther was born; and a year before Columbus died, Luther, a monk at Erfurt, began to study the Bible for himself.

When a new light for the social and political life of mankind began to ray out from the open Bible in the hands of Luther, God opened the way to this new continent.

WHAT RACE SHALL RULE THE CONTINENT?

Then came the earliest settlements by Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen. What nation should obtain the supremacy upon this new continent? Not Spain. Her wealth, her military prestige, her daring spirit of adventure and of conquest could not give to her permanent possession of the continent which she had discovered and sought to colonize; and those parts of the continent which have remained directly or indirectly under the influence of Spain and Portugal have not entered fully into the life that is characteristic of this New World. Then came a century during which it seemed probable that the balance of power in North America would remain with France. But not all the temporal glories and all the military power of the Grand Monarque, with all the self-sacrificing spiritual heroism of those Jesuit missionaries to the Indians, the record of whose lives gilds with glory the early history of the settlements in the West and Northwest, so many of which still bear their names,—not the victorious legions of Louis, nor the fearless, tireless apostles of Loyola, bravely as they fought, and skilfully as they were led, could hold the continent for France and for the Romish faith.

FRENCH REPRESSION *vs.* ENGLISH SELF-RELIANCE.

The repressive measures of absolutism were most faithfully tried in the government of Canada by the French. No contrast

could be greater than that which is afforded by the self-directing, enterprising, liberty-loving spirit of the colonists of New England, and the repressed and enervated life which resulted in Canada from the exclusion of all colonists save those who were blindly devoted to the Roman Catholic Church and docilely submissive to the absolutism of Louis. Neither treasure, nor political sagacity, nor lofty religious enthusiasm was lacking in the prolonged endeavor to establish and perpetuate upon this western continent a feudal system of society to which the air of our native land is most inimical. The leaders of the French, in diplomatic skill and in comprehensive political and military plans, were far in advance of the leaders of the English in America; but, to the discerning eye, the result of the contest between the two races,—one might say between the two systems of political and religious life—was from the first a foregone conclusion. When Wolfe and Montcalm lay a-dying on the heights of Quebec, the English victory gave evidence to politicians and warriors of a result which ideas and habits of life, worked out under the two systems, had long before rendered inevitable.

Neither in the people nor in the religion of Spain or France was found the nourishing food for this new organic idea which was springing into life on the continent, and was here to grow until it should overshadow the kingdoms of the world.

THE VERY BEST BLOOD OF ENGLAND.

Nor could England, while she remained the intensely monarchical England of the Tudors, have furnished the men or the ideas for this new life. She had grown to be a greater England when she sent to this continent those who by the law of spiritual primogeniture were the line of England's Christian heroes, her spiritual first-born, the line royal,—men who loved God and loved liberty maintained through law, who came here to work out, in the life of a new nation, those political and religious ideas which were to remodel the governments and the social life of the race.

God chooses the burgeoning, blossoming time of a people when he plans to separate from them bodies of his chosen ones, that they may become the parents of new nations. When the life-tide flows full and strong, when the energy of a creating God

loads with creating power the life of the mother-land, then she sends out broods of her worthiest children to become in their turn the parents of a still mightier progeny.

Until the swarming-time has come, a colony of bees forced from the hive will not live. But when the life-tide is at its height, when the time has come for the colony to leave the mother-hive, the best and strongest life goes out with the new swarm, to take possession of the new home and to work out anew the problem of independent existence.

At the time when the colonies that formed the vital nucleus of our American life came from the mother-land, England overflowed with Pilgrim zeal, and Puritan godliness, and virility of soul. England's life had been deepened and made spiritual. It was no longer marked by the brilliant and seething effervescence of the Elizabethan age. Even before that time, the Wars of the Roses had broken up that comfortable, materialistic tendency to "settle on the lees" that has proved deadly to so many nations. Take your place in one of the great cathedral churches of England, and as the service is intoned and the words fall on your ear, "O Lord, send peace in our day," let thought make real before your eyes the emotions that led to that petition. See the faces of the worn old warriors and of the long-suffering women whose families had been rent asunder by the Wars of the Roses, and by the Civil War; men and women whose heart went out to God in an agony of petition in these words, as they longed to re-establish something of peace and family life again in homesteads that had been desolated by these long struggles. There had come to England out of this deep suffering a great moral renovation. The Lollards had kindled a light. Luther had spoken more clearly and more emphatically. The wonderful intellectual activity of Elizabeth's reign had given a new consciousness of power and a fresh sense of national unity to the English people. The struggle between Papists and Protestants had forced Englishmen to think out for themselves theories of government and of personal religion and personal responsibility. Then came the insincerity, the wilful yet feeble despotism of the Stuarts. It clashed with the forged steel of Protestantism, and was broken against the Ironsides,—Cromwell's Christian heroes. It was at such a time from the best life of England the scion was transplanted to America. The very best of English life was taken. In the history of our

dear mother-land, this was pre-eminently the time for her to become the noble parent of a still nobler offspring. There was iron in the blood. There was faith in the life. Do you remember how near Cromwell came to embarking as an emigrant to America? When next you visit our oldest university at Cambridge, go into the library of Harvard, gaze at the death-mask of Cromwell's face,—a part of the noble gift of Carlyle to his admirers among the young men of America,—and as you note the massive power of those features and recall the work which that man's iron will accomplished for England and for the liberties of the world, remember that it was men of his convictions and of his training who came swarming to America, at a time when he so nearly accompanied them. They became the fathers of our national life. They impressed upon our institutions and our ideals the life that made England under Cromwell and Milton the foremost nation of the world.

THE BEST OF ENGLAND'S IDEAS.

These men were devoted Christians. They were also devoted lovers of what was best in English life. And they brought with them to America what was best in the traditions and the institutions of England.

The essence of what they brought had in it the germ of the new order which is characteristic of American life and of American Christianity,—of the influence of America upon the religious life of the world. They believed firmly that God is with man day by day; that men are brothers, with equal rights before the law; free,—not free to go ungoverned, but free to govern themselves in the light of reason and Revelation, both pointing to God as supreme Governor, as the Source of Law for majorities no less than for the individuals who make them up.

With the experience of life on a new continent and under new conditions came a deepening sense of the responsibility which rests on every man to hold to Christ by a living personal faith. It was not that the Puritans and Pilgrims alone held these convictions. Nor was it true that all the Puritans and Pilgrims held these convictions clearly. Their faith was not perfectly worked out in their life. But the germ was there; and it grew apace, and developed more and more clearly as the essential character-

istics of American life made themselves manifest with the lapse of time.

THE LIBERTY-LOVING HOLLANDERS.

But the religious life of our land was not formed by New England alone. Among the early colonists were devoted bands of settlers from that Holland whose heroic struggle against the legions of Spain had won victories for civil and religious liberty no less important in their effect upon England than were the battles won by Englishmen. On the soil of Holland, wrested from the greedy sea, were fought the battles that taught Englishmen and Americans to stand for liberty. By all the laws of physics, there should be no Holland. It ought long ago to have been submerged beneath the billows of the ocean that overhangs it. By all the laws of military science, there should be no Dutchmen. They ought long ago to have perished at the hand of Alva, whelmed beneath the conquering legions of Spain, who burned their cities, starved their people, and buried alive thousands of their women and children. But by God's higher law, which decrees that where he puts a true man with convictions and principles, there he evokes a power higher than the forces of physics, stronger than the heavier battalions and capable of overcoming them,—by virtue of this higher law, Holland stood and Dutchmen lived.

The descendants of the heroes who under Orange drove back the innumerable legions of Spain,—the Hollanders who received the Englishmen exiled for conscience' sake, and sent John Robinson's band to America with a larger experience of the meaning of civil and religious liberty than they could have gained from England alone,—these Dutchmen, through their early institutions in New York and New Jersey, have had a marked influence in the establishment of our religious, and political ideals here in America.

DUTCH AND HUGUENOT CALVINISTS.

These Dutchmen brought into the early colonial life a love of education, a love of books, a tenacious unconquerable love of liberty, the effect of which upon the early life of our people can

hardly be overestimated. Those whose life has never touched communities where the descendants of these Hollanders retain a preponderating influence uniformly fail to understand the secret and the strength of that influence. It is altogether disproportionate to the number of those who adhere to the church of the Hollanders or trace their descent from the Dutch. The courteous geniality of the Frenchman and the sturdy staying-power of the Anglo-Saxon were wonderfully united in these Dutch colonists. Identified with them through their Calvinistic beliefs were the French Huguenots, "the yeast in the Dutch cake," as Depew has called them. Had not the policy of Catholic France most carefully excluded from the colonists whom she permitted to go to Canada every subject of France who was not devoted to Catholicism, the stream of Huguenot emigrants who were driven from France, to the permanent enrichment of the countries where they settled, might have given a preponderance in enterprise and power to the colonists of France in the long struggle which culminated in the victory of the English at Quebec.

With the steadfast holding-power of the Dutch, with the earnest convictions and the brilliant social and political qualities of the Huguenots, there went into the religious life of the colonies, too, an important element from the Church of England in the Southern and Middle States, and the strong influence of the Roman Catholics who settled Maryland.

IN THE NEW LIFE, THE BEST OF THE OLD LIFE.

As these elements were combining to form a new national life upon this continent, it is important for us to remember that the life was not entirely new. In all organisms, the new life comes from and is conditioned by the life that has gone before it. In English common law and love of justice and of *liberty not used as a word to conjure with but wrought into institutions*, our civil liberties have their root. In the life, in Europe, of all the colonists to whose antecedents we have just referred, there had been a political and religious training which prepared the colonists and their descendants to deal with the questions which faced them here. The Protestant churches which they represented had been trained to careful thinking upon questions of theology and church polity, and in the religious truth they held they were

the heirs of all the ages. The philosophic acumen of the Greek Church in defining God and the terms of theology; that deep sense of sinfulness, of the weight and the necessity of law, and of the need of a divine Saviour, which had been worked out by theologians of the early Roman Church ; the German heartiness of love and deep personal allegiance to a living, loving Saviour, and the German's intense love of the Bible in one's native tongue, precious because it showed clearly to the common people that Saviour in whom each man must trust for life eternal ; the clearness of logic and the unflinching tenacity in adhering to truth which marked the Dutch and French Calvinists—all these elements were here, and by their interplay God was preparing a new, a richer and fuller manifestation of the life of Christ in the social and religious life of men.

INDEPENDENCE AND GROWTH.

Then God moved the young nation forward into an independent national life. The land had been made ready, the nidus had been prepared, the germ had been implanted, the young life was growing vigorously and was becoming conscious of its own power.

Now the nation must sever the ties that in the past had strengthened but now were hampering its life. After our revolutionary struggle, after the depressing influence of the example and the literature of the French Revolution had passed away, the lesson of voluntaryism in religious life had to be learned, by Congregationalists and Presbyterians no less than by those who had adhered to the Church of England.

After the War of 1812 came a half-century in which the energies of the nation seemed engrossed in a mad struggle for dollars. Meanwhile the awful system of human slavery was growing with the growth of the nation and rendered inevitable the terrible contest of the Rebellion.

With the abolition of slavery and the establishment of free institutions throughout our land in fact as well as in name, the war brought to the nation the blessing of a deeper moral earnestness and a clearer Christian faith.

THE FLATTERY OF IMITATION.

From out the shadow of the Civil War our national life has been moving for these last twenty years. A place is now conceded to us among the foremost nations of the world. Our population and our wealth are increasing with a rapidity that renders each new census a surprise. Our greatest dangers come from the easy and rapid multiplication of our material wealth. We are no longer extremely sensitive as to the opinion of America which may be held by the other nations of the world. We have somewhat freed ourselves from that excessive self-consciousness which is the mark of youth, in nations as well as in individuals.

Assured of our strength, and pursued by that most dangerous form of flattery to which one is exposed who sees his own customs and his own manner of life imitated by others who have thought themselves his superiors, our nation has reached the year of this great celebration.

THE PROBLEMS.

We are thankful for the prosperity that has attended us. We are hopeful as we look to the future of our national life. But we are keenly aware of the fact that awful problems confront us and demand solution.

It is inevitable that on the continent where free institutions have attained their fullest development the effort should be made to press beyond liberty into license, beyond the rule of the majority governing by law to the rule of the mob swayed by passion or prejudice. Where freedom has been enjoyed with the least need of restraint from government, it is inevitable that foreign anarchists, exiled by more oppressive governments, should make mad attempts to destroy all government. With our ports open to the ignorant and the oppressed of all nations, it was inevitable that we should find ourselves confronted by startling problems which have their rise in those cities where the ignorance and vice of immigration have settled in the blackest, thickest dregs.

He is no true patriot who refuses to recognize these truths. He is no true Christian who does not believe that the power of the life of Christ is mighty enough to solve these problems, to

overcome these obstacles to the fullest development of our national life.

The significance of the discovery and the history of this western continent comes clearly into view as we face these problems of the last decade in the nineteenth century. From the stimulating example of these American colonies the world was hopefully learning lessons as to the meaning of popular liberty a hundred years ago, when the atrocities of the French Revolution showed to the world how awful is the perversion of liberty into license and anarchy. After the period of conservative reaction which attended and followed the Napoleonic wars, the spirit of popular liberty which had been constantly rising throughout Europe burst all barriers again in the revolutions of '48. We need not recount the familiar story of the changes in the political organization of the leading nations of the world that have rapidly followed one another since that eventful year.

WE FEAR NO SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

To-day the government of the people, by the people, for the people, is recognized as the principle with which every nation must reckon. England has moved forward even more rapidly than have we, in these last years, along the line of the immediate recognition, through the popular branch of the Legislature, of the will of the majority. Through seas of threatened revolution and floods of calumny the French ship of state holds on its way, and those who man it, and the people whom it bears, are acquiring with every decade more of confidence in popular government. With the awakening of the people to the sense of their political power, there has come to all men a new and deep feeling of the unity of the race. It is in this growing sense of brotherhood, in this growing confidence in the power of the people to govern themselves in accordance with principles of justice and righteousness, that the effect of the religious life of our continent is most evident.

For here in America we fear no social revolution, because power is already in the hands of the majority. We might fear disregard of law by the majority, and we should fear it had we not faith that the majority of our people are ruled by moral convictions. It is still the fundamental belief of Americans, that *the*

majority has no right to do what it pleases except when it pleases to do what is right. We believe in a moral law that underlies and should override all statute laws. We believe in a justice that limits and controls the will of the majority. And the foundation of this national belief is laid in the Christian faith of the majority of the American people.

WE TRUST THE MORAL CONVICTIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

The history of democracy in America has had a most profound influence upon the world. To the students of political life no fact is more evident than is the steady growth, throughout the civilized world, of confidence in the ability of the people to govern themselves. Who believes that the trend toward popular government is to be checked or reversed? The problem for the world to-day is, how shall this tendency be directed and controlled? Always the education and the animus of the heir apparent to the throne, have been matters of profound interest to the people whom he was to govern. To such a gathering of thoughtful Christian men as this Conference has assembled, the conception which the great mass of people in the civilized world have formed of their own powers and their own obligations must be a profoundly important question. Is the attitude of thoughtful men, of statesmen and leaders, toward the people whom they lead, to be an attitude of confidence and loyal regard, or an attitude of suspicion and concealed hostility?

The true leader of the people is one who trusts the people, speaks truthfully and candidly for their enlightenment, but waits for their convictions. Such a leader was Abraham Lincoln. Who does not feel the difference between such a leader and the demagogue who shrewdly plans, by playing upon the interests and the passions of the people, to defeat the purposes they have in mind, and to secure his own ends by the use of the people as mere tools? Shall the people be trusted and prove themselves trustworthy? Or shall the people be doubted and dreaded and by their leaders deceived and duped? The awful reckoning that in the end must follow, when false leaders of the people are called upon to reckon with those whom they have misled, is to be read in the darkest pages of history.

If we seek to know why it is that in the United States there

is so little of that *dread of the rule of the majority* which plainly characterizes even the most popular governments of Europe, we cannot avoid the belief that it is the Christian convictions and the Christian life of the American people which has kept alive this confidence in the wise rule of the majority, and has led the world forward in the latest and largest development of the ideas of equality of rights, of self-government by the people.

THE WORTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL MAN—THE BROTHERHOOD OF ALL MEN.

Upon the Christian Church of to-day rests a profound responsibility for the reception and the true interpretation of this mighty idea of the brotherhood of all men. Mutual confidence in each other's moral convictions must be maintained. This must be developed through institutions that insist upon duties and obligations toward others as strongly as upon rights and privileges for one's self.

Historically, the great contribution of America to the religious life of the world, the supreme import of American Christianity looked at in its world-wide relations, is to be found in the development here of *the worth of the individual man* as he stands in jural relations with his brothers, under laws of his own making, restrained and compelled by no power from without himself,—but only by that eternal power of truth and justice and love which is from God and speaks to man from within, through his conscience, his heart, his own spiritual and religious life.

A NEW SOCIAL ORDER WAS NEEDED.

This conception of the possibilities of the human race could not be made real in the life of men and nations, until a place was found for its development where there need be no struggle with those rigid habits of mind that are the result of generations of precedent,—with those deep, irrational, but irresistible prejudices that come from the recognition, through successive generations, of distinctions of social and political caste. In our land, the sense of brotherhood is in the atmosphere. It has always been the oxygen, the life-giving ozone, in the air of these United States. Frequent and constant as is the interchange of thought

between the United States and England, it is still difficult for Americans to understand to what a difference between national ideals the words of our English historian, Bryce, bear witness, when he tells us of the deep impression produced upon him, as he studied our life, by what he calls "the natural impulse of every citizen in America to respect every other citizen, and to feel that citizenship constitutes in itself the ground for a certain degree of respect."

NO DEFERENCE TO ACCIDENTS OF ASSUMED SOCIAL RANK.

The American can hardly understand that deference to men who happen to be born in another social rank, which enters so largely into the instincts, the impulses and the social standards of the Englishman. In America the presumption is in favor of an equal opportunity for all. The attempts that are made in one or two cities of our land to build up an exclusive circle whose membership shall be determined by accidental relations with certain English people, or by descent from a few families of wealth or of assumed social prominence, provoke only gentle and good-natured laughter, except when assumptions become so ridiculous as to challenge scorn. The entire absence of any fixed barriers between ranks or classes in society has made it far easier in America than elsewhere for that sense of brotherhood which underlies Christianity to work itself out into social and religious life. Here are none of those rigid habits of mind which result from the perpetuation of caste. The entire organization of society is more open to the moulding influences of religious and social reform.

SOLIDARITY OF THE RACE.

We do not assume that we in America are nearer to God than others, or have seen more clearly the mind of Christ than have our brothers of the Christian faith in other lands. But there is in the institutions and life of America a fundamental conception of manhood which seems especially adapted to receive the revelation of the kingdom of God on earth among men. Now that we have reached, in the evolution of the thought of God for our race, that period in the history of man when it has become clear to all that the interests of the whole

race are one, that the man in greatest poverty and of humblest station is indissolubly linked in all his interests with the strongest and richest of his fellow-men; now that we have come to understand that no member of the race can suffer without involving suffering for the whole race; and that the first and highest duty of the strong is to use their strength for the benefit of the whole, for the uplifting and strengthening of the ignorant and weak,—the mission of America in the religious life of the world becomes clearer from year to year.

THE PECULIAR LESSONS TO AMERICANS FROM CHRIST'S SONSHIP.

Among the profoundly suggestive remarks of Frederick Denison Maurice was one to the effect that from the constitution of their mind the German nation must derive their truest and deepest ideas of God through their thought as to the person and the functions of the Holy Spirit; and that, by contrast with the Germans, the English nation had received and would receive its strongest and most abiding religious impressions through the thought of God the Father, through religious and political institutions which are suggested by paternity. Is it not equally true that the people of the United States, the Christians of America, in a peculiar way have received and will receive *their* strongest and clearest ideas of God and of the kingdom of heaven through the conception of Christ the Son? That there can be no true brotherhood among men save as men recognize God as their Father; that the eternal Sonship of the Son of God, and His identification with the race of men, makes all men in the deepest and fullest sense brothers of one another, and if they will recognize and heed their divine calling, then sons of the living God; that the kingdom of Christ on earth—a kingdom of universal brotherhood, founded in the universal recognition of the Fatherhood of God—has been established and is advancing; that if the prayers of the Christian world are to be answered in the coming of the kingdom of God on earth, we shall see the evidence in the life of Christians, as the Spirit of Christ shows itself in practical goodness, in works of mercy, of healing, and of blessing in our present social life; that since the incarnation of the Son as Son of man, the progress of the kingdom of God has meant and now pre-eminently must mean the working out,

in institutions, of justice, of mercy, and of love in the social life of men ; that the thoughts and the virtues of the living God are thoughts and virtues which *can* be lived out in the lives of Christian men and women ; that true Christianity means and must mean social reform ; that this world in these years should be made increasingly good and blessed by the presence in it of the church of those who are redeemed by the blood of Christ, and are seeking to live among men the life of Christ ; in short, that the world is the field for a battle of conquest, that the church is the force, that the Spirit of the living God furnishes the power, that victories are won in the driving out of ignorance, the overcoming of sin, the building up of purity and holiness in the lives of men one by one, and so in the lives of the masses of mankind ; and that all who have named the name of Christ are called as individuals, by personal responsibility to Christ their divine Redeemer and their Master, to make these conquests of love and holiness in his name,—such seem to be the lessons which the religious life of America, pre-eminently, has taught and is teaching to the world.

THE CHRISTIAN UNITY OF THE RACE—WORLD-WIDE MOVEMENTS.

This sense of the brotherhood of the race is thrilling the world now as never before. The social and religious life of this new world offers a medium for the action of this force and a field for the display of its results, such as the Christian world nowhere else affords. The vast international movements that are leading the world forward into the fullest sense of the brotherhood of the race take hold especially upon us, and have been developed most rapidly and most powerfully in America.

The Young Men's Christian Association originated in London, but it is in the religious life of our land that it has had its most marvellous growth, and has taken on a true international form, and through the International Committee, organized here, has reached all the nations of the world, and places its secretaries as leaders of the young Christian manhood of Japan and India and Ceylon. The educational classes maintained in our cities by our Christian Associations are in line with the University Extension work of England. And the movement for the extension of the privileges of the university to the great masses of the

people who cannot go to a university centre for study, while it started in England, and while the great need which exists in England was to a large extent met by our system of free high schools and public schools in America, still answers so directly to the conception of Christian helpfulness which marks American life, that its results in our own land have been wonderfully broad, wide, and deep, and the work takes on proportions here which its founders in England never contemplated.

So the idea of the University Settlement among the poorest in our cities, originating in the Christian fervor of Arnold Toynbee, found immediate answer in the heart and the life of the noblest and most aspiring of the young men and young women of our universities and colleges. The fine old legend of "*noblesse oblige*" is recognized in the world of intellect; and all the richest blessings that attended the recognition of this law of God where it reached the heart of one nobly born are found now as the noblest born of the sons and daughters of God among us take up the blessed law of service, and give their lives to the enlightening and the lifting up of those sodden masses of humanity that render terrible the worst districts of our larger cities.

As these conceptions grow upon the Christian consciousness of the land, God's own promise is fulfilled, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream dreams, and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit."

The young in our churches feel the spirit of loyalty to Christ, of brotherhood with their fellows, and of desire to serve Him to whom they owe all, while the "dew of their youth" is still on them; and the Christian Endeavor movement, latest and most marvellous of Christian organizations, girdles the globe with its millions of praying and working young Christians.

Christian women feel the accursed inroad of the saloon upon the home; and combining to defend the sacred ties of home and to rescue husbands, brothers, and sons, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, binding together women of all nations, is the most significant outgrowth of the new revelation of Christian womanhood.

There springs up a deep sense of pity and of spiritual yearning

for the millions who still sit in darkness. The movement known as the Students' Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions stirs the centres of higher learning, and binds together in ties of prayer and of deepened interest in foreign missions ten thousand young men and women who offer themselves for the work of holding up the cross of Christ in the dark places of the world.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM—THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST ON EARTH.

The Christians thus stirred for conquest in foreign missions, recognize afresh their duty to those who are nearest to them but are without God and without hope in the world. Christian socialism becomes a stronger power. The Christian church faces as never before its duty to make itself felt day by day in the relations of trade and commerce as a living power for righteousness, and as a helpful, healing influence in the sin-sick life of men.

Arbitration, to put an end to international strife; arbitration, rather than strikes and lockouts, to settle differences between employer and employed; the Christian effort to promote profit-sharing, that the godless law of cutthroat competition in business may give way to the law of fairness and kindness, in profit-sharing; the systematic effort upon the part of thousands of conscientious Christian business-men and Christian ministers to aid in the bringing in of the new and better social and commercial life, through the progressive steps of arbitration, profit-sharing, and co-operation;—by all these influences in the rapidly accelerated life of the nineteenth century here on this western continent, we see that the vision of the living Christ is more and more a power in the lives of men.

THE CLEARER VISION OF CHRIST IS THE SOURCE OF POWER.

Most marvellously has the thought of the world been centred on Christ in these last years. Attempted destructive criticism has only made clearer the historic reality and the wonderful ethical power of the Christ whom the Gospels declare to us. The highest ideals of advancing civilization culminate in Jesus Christ. When representatives of other systems in the Parliament of Religions declare their noblest tenets, we rejoice in whatever of truth they hold, but do we not see more clearly than ever before

the ground of our loyal confidence that what all their systems lack is richly given in the life of Jesus Christ "in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily"? "He who was the mightiest among the holy and the holiest among the mighty, with his pierced hand has lifted the gates of empires from their hinges, turned the course of history from its channel, and still rules the ages."

As the matchless perfection of his life is revealed, we see a standard such as philosophy, without the living example of God made man, was powerless to attain. The mysterious, all-subduing power of holy love is in this living ideal. Even the mad cry of the anarchists for a new order of things is met and silenced, as the brotherhood of mankind is revealed in Christ who is "the desire of the nations" even when they know not what they need. May God grant that in the religious life of the continent whose discovery, in the fulness of God's time and for the working out of God's purposes, we celebrate, the image of Christ may be more clearly seen, that he who is lifted up may draw all men to him!

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF PROTESTANT CHRISTENDOM.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF AUSTRALASIA.

By Rev. H. B. Macartney, M.A., Incumbent of St. Mary's, Caulfield, Victoria.

As regards discovery, Australia is the youngest continent in the world, but as regards size, it contains 3,100,000 square miles when taken together with Tasmania and New Zealand. In other words, it is only smaller than Europe by 680,000 square miles, and is larger than the United States, exclusive of Alaska, by 47,000 square miles. But although we thus occupy one third of the entire area of British dominion, our population is under four millions.

I. If judged by our Morality, we must be to a great extent an irreligious people. The love of money, with gambling, "statutes that are not good," intemperance, secret forms of vice, and the love of pleasure, prevail to a frightful extent.

Wild speculations and the issue by men of repute of fraudulent balance-sheets have only very recently covered us with dishonor. The "Land Boom" of 1888 will long be remembered in Victoria. In that year the wave of folly in making haste to be rich rose to its highest point, and has since broken into the foam of personal ruin and commercial disaster. The population of Melbourne is now about half a million, but 73 per cent of this total is the increase of but the last ten years. The country people forsook the soil in their eagerness to mingle in the many excitements and gayeties of the town. I need hardly say that the overcrowding of a great city with such ends in view had a most ungodly tendency. The congregations inland decreased in numbers, while the city churches gained little or nothing.

The Victoria Parliament has, moreover, been lately guilty of one great act of immorality in enacting a new law of divorce.

Whereas the divine law specifies one sin, and one only, as a ground for sundering man and wife, the new Act makes it possible to separate them on other grounds, such as ill-treatment and wilful desertion. It was sorrow enough that some years previously marriage with a deceased wife's sister was legalized, thus denying the "one-flesh" relationship of married persons; but this is infinitely worse. The effect has been, that whereas in 1881 there were altogether only nineteen divorced persons in Victoria, there were 196 in 1891, though the Act was only then in its infancy. The morals of our people are now being threatened from quite another quarter. Opium, with which England so long cursed China, is now cursing her colonies. I have myself seen opium-dens in Melbourne crowded with young Europeans getting their earlier lessons in the use of the deadly drug.

As regards the drink traffic, I grieve to report that we occupy a most unenviable position in the eyes of the civilized world. England's annual expenditure is 4*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per head of the population, whereas New South Wales spends 4*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*, and Victoria 5*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* We have, however, in Melbourne a very powerful society called the Victoria Alliance. It has for its aim "Prohibition for the new century through the will of the people;" for its platform, "Complete local option, with women's vote and no compensation;" and it contends, in the words of the late Chief Justice Higinbotham, "for the indisputable principle that the community has the right to determine for itself whether it is expedient that intoxicating liquor shall or shall not be sold." The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has taken fast hold in the colonies, chiefly owing to the visits of earnest and eloquent advocates from the United States. But the hope of Australasia lies chiefly in her children. The Secretary of the Victorian Band of Hope Union wrote to me on February 16: "Fromwhat I can gather the cause is progressing in New Zealand, especially in the North Island. Indeed, a prominent worker expressed his belief the other day that it was the only department of temperance work that was progressing at all." Victoria has 222 bands, with 22,000 members, to which must be added the membership of the Roman Catholic League of the Cross and other societies, bringing up the total number of young abstainers to something like 40,000. A splendid forward movement is now being made in Victoria, called "The Ten Thousand More Scheme." A certain day was agreed

to as suitable on which to visit every house in a given locality, in order to discover children not attending any juvenile society, and to obtain the influence and consent of the parents with a view to their attendance. On that day 12,000 houses were thus visited, and 4000 pledges were actually obtained, either from parents themselves or from children whose parents objected to their joining a society. The drink bills of Victoria and New South Wales, each with a population of little over one million, was 6,500,000*l.* each for 1892.

A Vigilance Association has been formed in Melbourne, composed of men and women "who have banded together to grapple with some of the deepest problems of our national social life." It seeks "to concert measures for the prevention of infanticide and for the repression of criminal vice and public immorality; to check the causes of vice; and to protect minors." The Association regards it as a central truth "that the moral law is the same for all men and for all women." It finds, however, a general lack of sympathy with the injured class (who are under sixteen), and a great unwillingness on the part of juries to convict, even for proved offences. The moral conscience of our people wants arousing, and though our laws are good, they avail nothing if young girls may be ruined with impunity "before they are old enough to know the sanctity of their bodies and the priceless value of their virtue." About four cases of infanticide, known to the police, occur in Melbourne every week, and forty or fifty unfortunate woman apply to the society in the same brief space for relief in trouble.

II. Our Education, taken as a whole, is distinctly non-religious. A system which in its cardinal features is "secular, compulsory, and free" prevails almost everywhere, except in New South Wales. The Victorian Act came into force on January 1, 1873, and has naturally borne fruit "after its kind." One person out of every 102 is now undergoing a prison sentence. In the year 1890–91 there were 1081 children arrested in Melbourne alone as "neglected, deserted, or criminal." Twelve millions of money have been spent on the Act, not only thus impoverishing the Treasury, but producing inadequate results. In 1891 there were in this one colony 33,000 persons above fifteen unable to read. Roman Catholics, who were specially in view in the Act, are forbidden by their priests to countenance state schools, and

are clamoring for a separate grant. The churches are permitted to give religious instruction on certain days, after school hours, when the children are weary. In populous places this is possible, but ministers of religion cannot teach the Word of God in the country with any regularity. We sow the wind and we shall reap the whirlwind. The churches have some power over those who are familiar with the letter of Scripture, but the gospel makes small headway where men's minds are trained to deal with worldly knowledge only, and where morality is not based upon religion. Energetic measures are being taken everywhere to have the Bible restored—to have given to it some place of honor, if only as a book to be ignorant of which is to be unlearned.

Our universities are all secular; but in Victoria, at least, splendid grants of land have been made, contiguous to the University itself, for the erection of colleges, denominational and affiliated.

III. BENEVOLENCE is a marked feature in our colonists. They have received freely and they give freely. Charitable institutions—such as hospitals, infirmaries, asylums for the aged, the blind, the deaf and dumb, convalescent homes, orphanages, refuges, reformatories, Royal Humane Societies, and St. John Ambulance Corps—are to be found on every hand. Appeals in the daily papers are readily responded to, and if a public calamity occurs, the sufferers are sure of the sympathy of a thousand outstretched hands.

IV. ECCLESIASTICALLY there is much in which to rejoice; there is much also to awaken grave solicitude. Worldliness is blighting professing Christians. The same people attend theatres, races, dances, and the Lord's Supper; and office-bearers are often chosen on the sole ground of influence, ability, or wealth. If I might venture to delineate the various sections of the visible Church the sketch would be somewhat as follows:

(1) *Numerically.*—Taking Victoria as a sample, the Church of England leads with 417,000, out of a total population of 1,140,000; Roman Catholics follow with 248,000; Presbyterians next, with 167,000; Wesleyans, 158,000; Baptists, 28,000; Independents, 22,000; Lutherans, 15,000; Salvation Army, 13,500 (this is the more remarkable, for they had no existence among us in 1881); unsectarian, 7000; Jews, 6000; avowed freethinkers, 5000; Unitarians, under 3000; Plymouth Brethren, about 1000.

Few write themselves down in the census as Spiritists, although Spiritism—that latest of satanic developments—has a considerable following.

(2) *Spiritually.*—The Church of England can boast of a few thoroughly evangelical bishops, but she has also others, broad and high. She has light, learning, and eloquence. She employs laymen to a very large extent in her ministrations, and in church councils nothing can be carried against their will. Hundreds of young souls are annually gathered into the fold of God during her season of preparation for confirmation; able and devoted men hold parochial missions every now and then, and although we have never had a great revival, we have certainly had times of refreshing. The most successful missions are often held in scattered places. There are ritualists and rationalists in every diocese, but they are not nearly so extreme as in Great Britain. I cannot speak of spirituality among Roman Catholics, for how can it flourish, except under the rarest conditions, in the great apostasy? And are not Roman Catholics rather Marians than Christians? And do not they need a mission altogether to themselves? Yet, inasmuch as Rome exercises such an enormous influence everywhere, both in church and state, her colonial offshoots are worth mentioning. They are the zealous advocates of a narrow but religious education, and they are spreading their seminaries throughout the continent. They undertake to instruct Protestant children for fees less than the ordinary grammar-school, promising non-interference in religion. We know how little that pledge avails, for it is not the dogmatic word, but the atmosphere, that tells. Rome has as yet won over very few converts, but her steadfast aim is supremacy. Her followers are rapidly filling available offices in the civil service, in public institutions, in the constabulary, in parliamentary, military, and municipal places. Unless we look to it, therefore, we shall find some extraordinary results in another generation. Her scholars of to-day will be a power to-morrow; they will not only be religious, but they will be religiously controversial; while our thousands of children will be exposed to their seductions, because ignorant of vital and fundamental facts.

Our Presbyterians are not, as elsewhere, a divided, but are a compact and solid body, worthy of their name and history. Some of their teachers may, indeed, be "Moderates," formalists,

or latitudinarians; but their public assemblies seldom give an uncertain sound when great questions are put to the vote, such as the divinity of Christ, the inspiration of Scripture, or the sanctity of the Lord's day. They have among them liberal and holy men, eloquent preachers, vigorous defenders of the faith; and they ally themselves very closely in love with evangelical brethren in other communions.

The Wesleyans command our admiration for their unity, push, and church energy. They have chapels and services everywhere. Their machinery is never out of order. They have great riches and a large following. They have few, if any, camp-meetings, and they do not inculcate sinless perfection. They stand almost alone in their grand Sunday-schools for adults, and there are, I think, hopeful signs that their weekly experience classes will be made to alternate with meetings for Bible study, so that they may neither be defective in true holiness nor behindhand in that extended knowledge of the Word of God which so characterizes believers of this present time. They have not forgotten their traditions, and though they have not yet, as a body, embraced the promise of the speedy advent of the Lord Jesus, the best among them love to exalt the Person and Work of God the Holy Ghost.

The Baptists are united as one man. Owing their existence to their views on a definite, tangible subject, and holding the doctrines of grace just as they are generally set forth in Protestant standards, they increase and multiply more in proportion than other denominations by adhesions from without. The preaching of their ministers to their own unbaptized is necessarily very pointed; they are mostly free from "down-grade" sentiments; and the genius and eloquence of Spurgeon are reproduced in some degree among not a few.

The Independents have nothing to say against an established church, for there is no establishment. In the sense of not receiving state aid we are all equally independent. They sided in the first instance with the government in the policy of excluding the Bible from the state school curriculum, but by ever-increasing minorities they have at last obtained a majority who are heart and soul with us in the fervent prayer that the Book of books may soon be brought back to its rightful place amid the acclamations of an intelligent people. The universal father-

hood of God, that nonsense called the "Higher Criticism," and conditional immortality are taught in some leading pulpits, as may be said, indeed, of other churches; but, thank God, the Congregationalists have amongst them sterling ministers and devoted laymen; their churches are by no means concert-rooms; they have much corporate vitality, and they give with an open hand.

I may here add that the missionary spirit—that sure mark of a living church—is wanting in scarcely any of our religious brotherhoods. The Church of England has several associations in connection with the great Church Missionary Society. She has already sent several of her sons and daughters to the front, and she is training and sending more; she supports the Melanesian Mission with considerable sums of money, and keeps in perpetual freshness the laurels of her fame in connection with the evangelization and instruction of the natives of New Zealand.

You will glorify God with me that neither in Sydney nor in Melbourne has the Church of England forgotten the first business of any church whatsoever—a mission to the Jews. The Presbyterians carry on a blessed work in the New Hebrides, besides extending a helping hand to India and Korea. The Wesleyans have just cause for pride in the stability of their work among the Fiji Islanders, and many of their colonial ministers being retired missionaries from the South Seas, the flame of love for the heathen is kept brightly burning. Some of the Baptist churches are quite intense in their zeal, and send large reinforcements to Asia; while the Independents render substantial and intelligent aid to the operations of the London Society, especially in New Guinea and the Pacific Ocean. All these denominations, moreover, without exception, combine in supporting the China Inland Mission both with men, women, and means. They are also alive (though none of them sufficiently so) to the wonderful opportunity which God has given them in sending to their very doors 42,000 Chinese immigrants—an army of heathen sojourners fully intent upon returning home. We know that every Chinaman whom we trade with in the colonies goes back to his native land either the worse for his contact with European carnality or the better for his contact with the messengers of God. The same may be said of the hundreds of Kanakas who labor on the Queensland sugar plantations. There are some also

here and there to whom the original Australian tribes are dear, but the difficulty of winning to Christ the members of a wandering and degraded race is greater than can be imagined. They are best reached, as some *are* reached, when persuaded to settle with their families on large government reserves, where the ever-faithful Moravian Brethren superintend their education and their manual labor, shield them from temptation, and watch over them to their dying day. New Zealand has more or less evangelized her 41,000 Maories; Tasmania has no aborigines to evangelize; but Australia is only just awakening to the existence of some 60,000 natives, chiefly roaming its Northern and Western Territories, before whose eyes the light of God has never shined. Victoria has another work, almost unique—a mission by post, not without fruit, to the lighthouse-keepers and their families all along the Australasian coasts. For the deepening and expansion of our missionary enthusiasm we are greatly indebted to the occasional presence amongst us of such men as Dr. Jacob Chamberlain, Dr. Paton, the Rev. Hudson Taylor, and Mr. Eugene Stock.

Among colonial institutions of a distinctly religious character I may mention:

Y. M. C. Associations.—There are twenty-two in all, with property worth 150,000*l.*, 4550 enrolled members, and six paid secretaries. The Adelaide branch stands in the van of aggressive work. It has achieved signal success during the last five years in a work amongst boys between thirteen and eighteen—quite a new departure. The attendance at its theatre services last year was 40,000; while of a "Christian Workers' Band" numbering ninety young men, nearly half were won to the Lord Jesus by this instrumentality. This society enjoys the confidence of some very wealthy and liberal men; has three of its number engaged as missionaries in China, and four more are accepted conditionally. In all our Associations spiritual work receives the very first care. The Sydney branch is exceedingly popular with the churches—a sure token of healthy and legitimate developmen—and does a great work amongst *men* in a city where secularism is strong, profane, and defiant. The Melbourne branch has had a splendid but checkered career. It stands first for its gymnasium, with its trained and devoted instructor from America,

and for its Sunday-afternoon Bible-class. Some of the smaller societies, such as Auckland, N. Z., are doing nobly.

Young Women's Christian Associations are planted out pretty generally in coast cities, and real soul-work is being done, although on a limited scale. The factory department both in Melbourne and Adelaide has been much blessed, and the work which they seek to do amongst all young women is being supplemented by the "Society of Time and Talents" and by "Girls' Friendly Societies."

Individual Christians are greatly helped in their inner life by means of the Bible Union, which assigns one consecutive chapter daily to its 300,000 members throughout the world. The Scripture Union comes to the aid of the young with its selected passages; and the Sunday-school Union issues a somewhat similar calendar of its own to its immense constituency. The Children's Special Service Mission is beginning to take root, especially in connection with its seaside services. The Society of Christian Endeavor, the latest plant of our Heavenly Father's planting, has just come to us from America to supply a long-felt need, and we hail it joyfully. The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, and other well-furnished depots keep our workers supplied with seed for sowing; while we, in return, are not unmindful of their world-wide character and peculiar claims. Christian Conventions commenced in Australia about twenty years ago, somewhat on Keswick lines, but, having removed to a capital, they now more nearly resemble Mildmay. Recent circumstances, however, and spiritual hunger of the deepest kind have called the Geelong Convention into existence. Here addresses are delivered bearing directly on practical righteousness, heart-purity, and the filling of the Holy Ghost. The ministers with whom the Conference originated met three years ago to wait on God until their own souls were satisfied, and they still wait on him for hours every Saturday afternoon for fresh accessions of power and to plead for a great revival.

We have not as yet any very notable itinerant preachers, although the Presbyterian evangelist for Victoria, our Southern John MacNeil, is as dear to us personally as ever your Northern John MacNeil can be to you. We have lately lent you for a little season a lady of the stock of Abraham, whose testimony amongst you has been owned of God, and who is most grateful

for the welcome you accorded her; I allude to my friend Mrs. Baeyertz. We are favored from time to time with visits from mighty men of strength from the old worlds, and although we have not yet heard Mr. D. L. Moody, we have had (in succession) Bishop Taylor, Dr. A. N. Somerville, Henry Varley, George Müller, and George Grubb. The pathway of the latter is still shining; souls have been delivered and believers uplifted, and candidates called out for the conversion of the heathen.

The secular press is, as a rule, in the hands of men not in sympathy with spiritual things, and who take the wrong side on the question of Bible Education, Sabbath Observance, and Worldly Amusements. Still we have much cause to be thankful that the work of God is very fairly reported in the daily papers, and that religious correspondence is treated, not always, but generally, with a considerable measure of fairness. Church papers are to a large extent in the hands of Evangelicals.

It may be asked if our colonial churches are fulfilling their social mission. "Yes" and "No." The Salvation Army began well, and rescued many out of the depths. City missionaries day by day enter the doors of the fallen. The clergy, if faithful, either personally or by their representatives knock at every door, and multiply machinery for conversion and sanctification. Hundreds and thousands of godly men and women toil in Sunday-schools, night-schools, refuges, reformatories, and flower-missions. Open-air preachers proclaim the gospel in public gardens, in parks, and at street-corners. Prisoners and all the suffering classes are yearly remembered by the Christmas Letter Mission. Young Men's Fellowship Meetings in connection with congregations are becoming cradles for evangelistic heroism. Notwithstanding, it cannot be denied that the lower strata of society are not being properly reached, and that the wealthier classes are to a very great extent divesting themselves of even the externals of religion. Sunday is to thousands a day for novels and newspapers, for riding and driving and tennis, for morning visits and dining out. Yet there would be hope if only the world would keep itself to itself, and not seek to demoralize the church. This, however, we have to be thankful for—that although our colonists are passionately fond of music, our sanctuaries are seldom profaned on the Lord's day with money-bought singing, and never with "quartettes."

Our country is still young, and, though full of sin's leprosy, there is not one of our many colonies without some lovely lamps of pure divine truth glittering in surrounding darkness. Free-thinkers may be bold and blasphemous; standard-bearers may faint or flee; the number of the saved may be comparatively small; but yet there is a "remnant according to the election of grace," and JESUS SHALL REIGN. Brethren of the United States, your continent is next eldest to ours: let us have a place in your plans and in your prayers, and the redeemed of Christ from the last discovered land will not prove altogether inglorious allies in the last campaign of the holy war.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF CANADA.

By Rev. George Monro Grant, D.D., Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.

I have been asked to give an estimate of the character and movement of the religious thought and life of Canada, and in making the estimate to limit myself to the Protestant churches. The limit simplifies the problem. Of our five millions of people, fully two millions are Roman Catholics, and the great majority of these—French by race and language—would require separate treatment in any discussion. They were as completely cut off from France by the Conquest of 1763 and the Revolution as they were from all currents of American life by distinctive institutions, laws, and language which British legislation secured to them. They have in consequence remained—for good and evil alike—to a great degree unaffected by the modern spirit. Of the Protestants of Canada, more than nine tenths are Methodists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, or Baptists, this being the order in the census; and as their historical evolution has been determined by a common environment and common causes, the general religious condition and movement can be traced without much difficulty.

Three events, subsequent to 1763, exercised a controlling influence on the Canadian people—the forced migration from the States into the different provinces of a hundred thousand Tories or U. E. Loyalists, at the close of the Revolutionary War; the voluntary migration from Great Britain and Ireland, chiefly in the second quarter of this century; and the political unification of Canada into a Dominion in 1867, followed by the opening up of the Northwest and the extension of the country to the Pacific.

The first event shaped our character in infancy. We sometimes speak of the United States as a new country, but it is of venerable antiquity compared with Protestant Canada. When

the Republic began its national career, nigh 120 years ago, it had behind it then more than a century and a half of colonial life, the vigor and breadth of which may be estimated by its achievements and the character of the men it reared to begin and carry to a successful close the struggle with the mother-country. It counted three millions of people descended from the best stock in the world. It included a resolute maritime population, and had engaged in external wars. It had established schools, churches, and universities, and its missionary and literary activities proved that it was not living for or by bread alone. But there were no English-speaking Canadians at that time, with the exception of a handful in Quebec, Montreal, and Halifax, and a few New Englanders settled on the farms of the dispossessed Acadians. Canada was an unbroken forest. It would have remained so until a slowly advancing line of population had gradually filtered in from the south, had it not been for the expulsion of the Loyalists at the close of the Revolutionary War. These men were a stiff-necked generation who, rather than kiss the rod that smote them, sought shelter in northern woods. They uprooted themselves, only to be planted in a soil unsuited to their habits and previous circumstances. They were isolated from their own past by civil war and from European life by the ocean, and still more—in the case of the great majority—by their inland position. The memories of defeat and harsh treatment embittered the hard struggle for a livelihood. It is difficult to conceive of an environment less conducive to the promotion of a high level of thought and religious life; and the unprovoked invasion of 1812–15 made it less favorable still, except in so far as their gallant and successful resistance stimulated the nobler side of their natures, and inspired the hope of a future under laws and institutions on the British model and adapted by themselves to their own needs.

The second event subsequently determined early Canadian character along the same lines as the first. Almost the entire immigration was from the mother-country. It consisted of classes who deliberately chose Canada as their home because it was British. Some of these were generously aided by the Imperial Government, and all spoke of their fatherland as home, and taught their children to regard it with affection. In their isolated condition, generally in remote backwoods, obliged to give intense

thought and energy to provide for the simplest material necessities, they rested in old religious forms and traditions which their imagination glorified. These became accordingly large channels from which their spiritual natures drank eagerly. In these they found "the true dignity and Sabbath of their life." They prized them for their own sakes and for the memories of the past, and they prized them all the more when their own tenacity was favorably contrasted with laxity and its evil results elsewhere. They had no conception that there was movement in the old land, and "innovation" seemed to them little short of criminal. But neither traditionalism, however sincere, nor the consciousness of supposed religious superiority is favorable to religious or general progress. Unless absorbed in and purified by larger currents, they are apt to beget nothing nobler than fervent sectarianism, and prior to 1867 there was no national life in Canada. The maritime position and foreign trade of the provinces on the Atlantic stimulated thought, produced literature, and lifted the people to a certain extent out of provincialism, but their area was limited, and the movement of their own population as well as of the immigration from abroad was to the west.

Internal development and external pressure led in 1867 to the union of the provinces, and a Canadian sentiment was born which has already had results. The Northwest was acquired and thrown open to the world; the national horizon extended from ocean to ocean; a self-reliant spirit, tainted too often by mere selfishness, but free at any rate from the coarse admixture of revolutionary violence, began to animate the people. In the wider outlook old religious differences shrivelled into insignificance, and old watchwords once thought sacred lost their meaning. In 1875 the Presbyterian churches, that had always divided, with a pathetic fidelity to the old land, along lines of cleavage that have significance in Scotland but only a sentimental reflection of fact in Canada, united into one church wide as the Dominion. The Methodist churches soon after took the same step. So did the Baptists and Congregationalists, as far as it was possible for bodies holding the principles of congregational independency to form ecclesiastical union. And in September, 1893, the Anglicans also united into a Canadian church, and at their first meeting the upper and lower houses unanimously accepted the Lambeth Articles as the basis for a proposed wider union. It

would be difficult to overrate the significance of those great and peaceful union movements, and their effects on religious life have been marked.

From this historical sketch the present condition of our religious life can be understood and the direction of its movement estimated. With roots in a past almost wholly British, it as yet has been only faintly affected by that spirit of historical inquiry under the dominant principle of evolution which is quietly but profoundly modifying religious conceptions in Britain. Planted on the American continent, it has no connection with the political and ecclesiastical life of the United States. It has its own soil and atmosphere, and is as yet confronted with only the first beginnings of those grave social problems of the city and the country which Dr. Strong depicts in his recent work, "The New Era."

What then is the result and what is the outlook? The condition of things on the surface is satisfactory. Church-going habits are universal. Family worship is generally observed. Family life is pure. Divorce can be obtained only from the Parliament of Canada, a committee of the Senate acting as a kind of court, and the number of applicants for the whole Dominion averages only two or three annually. The Lord's day is reverently observed in every part of the land. The ministry of the gospel is held in high esteem. A decent maintenance is provided in every denomination, and candidates for the ministry are so numerous that not only is the home field abundantly supplied, but large numbers of students go to seminaries in the States and assist the church there in overtaking its immense field. Candidates for the ministry are not supported by ecclesiastical or eleemosynary aid. They support themselves like candidates for other callings. All denominations are actively engaged in foreign missions—Presbyterians in the South Seas, Trinidad, Central India, Formosa, Honan, and the Northwest; Methodists in Japan, the Northwest and the Pacific Coast, and among the Chinese of British Columbia; Baptists among the Telugus of India; Anglicans in Japan and the northwest. The China Inland Mission and other undenominational agencies in Britain and the States attract many young men and women unable or unwilling to take a university course, whose enthusiasm or ignorance impels them to volunteer for work in foreign lands.

The aspect of the Canadian people socially is also satisfactory. Sobriety is almost universal. An overwhelming public sentiment is in favor of temperance, while a vigorous section of the people demands total prohibition of the liquor traffic. Uncleanness is a more common sin than drunkenness, but sins of darkness cannot be known as well as those committed in the light. Anti-Christian socialism and anarchism are unknown, and crime does not increase as rapidly as population. There is exceedingly little pauperism. Farm lands have indeed depreciated in value, but there is no experience of that depletion of the country and the rural towns that is leading to religious deterioration in many parts of New England and elsewhere; and in our two large cities, Montreal and Toronto, the great mass of the population still adheres to the church. Foreign immigration is small; population increases, but not by leaps and bounds; and the churches feel that they can cope with their work without undue strain or the suspicion that their resources are exhausted.

It will be asked, Has this condition of things its roots in living faith, or is it an outward and traditional conformity which has been subjected to no strain? The question would be answered differently according to the point of view of the observer, his insight, and his opportunities for careful observation. Undoubtedly when we look at the whole field of life the signs are not equally satisfactory. Undoubtedly, also, true faith demands the allegiance of the whole man. It manifests itself in every department and knows no distinction between sacred and secular. There is then another side to the picture. Though our public men generally represent the best elements in society, the tone of political life is not high, and recent revelations show that there is wide-spread corruption in the electorate. Again, we have produced no poetry or literature of first-class rank, though there is a school of young poets that gives promise. There is, too, a school of distinctively Canadian painters, and promise also in music. What we have produced of distinctively religious literary work is inferior even to what has been done in general scholarship, poetry, science, art, and thought. Now, no amount of conformity or of external activity will compensate for the absence of that free creative spirit which is at once the proof and the condition of permanent religious vitality. Every country must take its share in the common burden and give its contribution to

the solution of those problems, old as the race, which appear in new forms in every age, or accept the position of a mere dependant upon others, and sink before long into spiritual decrepitude or petrifaction.

In describing the present religious state of Canada I have presented the two sides of the shield. In which of the two is to be found the key to its actual spiritual state? Neither in the one nor in the other solely, but in both combined and in a study of the conditions from which both have come. It seems to me that whoever considers these conditions carefully will be prepared to appreciate sympathetically all the excellence that is apparent on the surface and to believe that there must be living roots for so much that is good, and at the same time will be prepared to make full allowance for that lack which has been pointed out, and to believe that the cloud now on the horizon, small as a man's hand, will soon cover the heavens and give the whole land a plenteous rain. There has not been sufficient time for us to appropriate the thought and scholarship of the modern world, nor for that reflection which is needed for the production of literary work of the highest class, either in the department of pure thought or in its application to actual, social, ethical, and theological questions. Our inner development has been slow because of material and historical conditions, and also because it has not been hastened by revolution. This is not altogether a disadvantage, for the fruit that comes to maturity at the normal time is more likely to be sound and to last than that which has been forced.

It has to be admitted, then, that till very recently Canada was not in the main stream of the world's life. It is entering that stream now. The days of isolation are over. She cannot hold aloof even if she would, and her young men are too virile to shun the needed strain and conflict if they could. Canada has now made sufficient material and political progress to entitle her to take a place with full-grown countries and submit the reality of her faith to the tests that are applied everywhere else and prove her faith by works of the highest order. The questions that are being discussed in older and more crowded countries must be faced by the wise men and the young men of Canada, no matter what disturbance to deeply-rooted preconceptions may be the result. Movement in this direction has commenced already, as might be expected on the part of a truth-loving people coming into full

consciousness of the meaning of the century in which it finds itself. Our institutions of learning, with the exception of the small university of King's College, Nova Scotia, are of recent date, and they are now filled with men and a due proportion of women, who combine the self-control, reticence, and modesty begotten by conservative training with love of learning and a deep religious spirit, and also with that freedom from routine and readiness to experiment that belongs to a new country. Students of such a type must have been brought up in homes where religion is a power. These homes are the glory of any land. Anchors cast there are sure to hold even when the earth seems to be removed and the mountains cast into the midst of the sea. Carlyle always assured his mother that his faith was essentially the same as her own, though the form was different. She knew that his word could be trusted, and he knew that her religion was the expression of living faith. It is this union of the old and the new, best found in the family, that is needed in the church. A conflict between them brings misery and loss to both, though the issue is always the same,—"the elder must serve the younger." Why should there be conflict when peace would be so much nobler? The old generation should not attempt to fetter the new, for that is to fetter God; and the new must not despise the old, for that is to despise their fathers as well as God.

The Protestant churches have not modelled themselves on the family. They were begotten of faith, and faith means the reconciliation of liberty and union in the atmosphere of love. But Protestantism in the church has been dominated by fear. It has been afraid of the body, of the intellect, and of the imagination. It has been afraid of individualism and of socialism; of political life, of industry, and of amusement; of science and of art; of enthusiasm and of quietism: and the consequence is that it is called upon to face in an utterly disorganized condition the tremendous conflicts that are impending in almost every country.

I hope better things for my own country. But we must remember that principles and not protest gave victory to the Reformers, and that it was faith in the Evangel and not the mere denunciation of pious frauds that made them heroes. Their principles and their faith are all that are needed now, and they are needed by all who study God's Word with modern appliances and by the modern method, or who apply the gospel to the solu-

tion of to-day's social, economic, and international questions, or who seek to meet new conditions with new instrumentalities, without regard to weak and beggarly elements that have outlived their usefulness. There is faith in the heart of young Canada. This faith has been nurtured by godly parents, and therefore it is deep and strong. From farmers' firesides, I believe, there shall come forth to us "seven shepherds and eight principal men," that is, fit leaders in abundance as they may be called for; not only good citizens but God-fearing statesmen to guide us to the highest developments of national life and international duty; not only ministers of the Word for thousands of congregations, but great teachers and prophets whose influence shall extend beyond the boundaries of their own church and land; not only scholars who are satisfied to walk along well-beaten tracks, but thinkers who are not afraid to sail strange oceans that they may discover new worlds and map them out for the possession of future generations.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF FRANCE.

By Prof. Jean C. Bracq of Vassar College.

As the scepticism and coarse materialism existing in France prior to the French Revolution cannot be fairly understood unless it has the background of the Catholicism of the Regency, so the materialism of to-day cannot be adequately judged unless its condition is compared with that of a century ago, when it assumed the conceited arrogance, the unprincipledness of the Voltaireans, and the low sensualism of the Encyclopedists. Voltaire and Diderot represented doubts and negations in their higher forms. The repulsiveness of the scepticism of the masses in its literary expressions and in its moral manifestations defies words. Intellectually considered, Voltaireanism was at once frivolous and shallow. The victim of words whose dominion it ever ignored, it represented the intellectual spirit of polemical generations. It was bound to disappear, at least partially, when the causes that once called this spirit into existence should cease to act, although they created psychological tendencies which in a less degree have been acting as new causes in the same direction. The religious despotism of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, the crushing of the Huguenots, the destruction of the Jansenists, the obstacles placed upon the path of religious inquiries, the penalties imposed upon religious truth-seekers, the compulsory attempt to make a few ignorant men the intolerant depositors of the oracles of God, not only gave rise to scepticism and rendered French religious men incapable of fighting it, but it turned the mind of the nation from all religious studies, created a chasm between theology and literature, between religion and life. This divorce between intelligence and faith, between philosophy and revealed religion, has been fatal to France. On that account French culture and French thought lack general religious intelligence; there is wanting that mystic sympathy which throws a poetical haze upon the thinking of Teutonic nations,

and so to say extends a bridge between the relative and the absolute. The ignorance of the processes of religious evidence, of the facts of that evidence, and the mental indolence which the Latin Church has ever encouraged, have been and still are tremendous forces on the side of religious negations. Many of the facts and forces which called Voltaireanism into existence have now ceased to act, but there resulted a religious ignorance, an irreligious spirit, and mental habits that are very potent. This at all times contributed to give Voltaireans that superlative dogmatism which ever characterized them. Their distrust of religious phenomena and of all religious experience gave them a great faith in syllogism and in the infallibility of human reason. As they were not well enough acquainted with the great historical facts of Christianity to formulate their own attacks, they repeated the objections of English Deists which had become threadbare in England, but which in France appeared as novel and as irrefutable. Still, this form of free-thought remained within the limits of Deism in its polemics. With the later development of natural sciences many became absolutely materialistic. La Place was accustomed to say, "I need no God in my system." The scientists who considered religion as antagonistic to science became antagonistic to religion. They considered religion as a mental disease, Christianity as an instrument of despotism, and Christ as a myth. Notwithstanding the religious renaissance at the beginning of this century, whose literary expression was *Le Génie du Christianisme* among Catholics, and the *Réveil*, whose pulpit personification was Adolphe Monod, among Protestants, scientific materialism made great progress. It assumed the form of positivism in philosophy, of naturalism in literature, and of indifference, often of opposition, in religion. Positivism was at least held in check by the sound philosophical teachings in the institutions of learning, by men like Frank, Caro, Simon, Nourrison, Janet, and Renouvier. Its inadequacy was often affirmed by scientists like Milne-Edwards, Wurtz, de Quatrefages, Saint-Hilaire, and Pasteur. But the conclusions of scientific materialism did not long remain in the student-world. They were popularized and vulgarized by novelists. The statement of M. Taine, who often regretted it and even protested against the use made of it, that "vice and virtue are products like vitriol and sugar," became a formula of moral helplessness

and of the worthlessness of religion embodied in the characters of novels. A whole literary school led by M. Zola made it the evangel of a low Epicureanism. These novels and a press not unlike them—I except such papers as *Le Temps* and *Le Journal des Débats* that are models of an able, healthy, and dignified journalism—spread all over France truncated scientific truths, and became missionaries of the gospel of eternal nothingness. Materialism became a mighty power, with its organizations, its science, its journalism, its literature, and its propagandists. On its better side it has acted like a tremendous dissolvant upon the superstitious accretions of Catholicism; it has rendered great services to physical culture and to hygiene by proclaiming the paramount importance of the body and by overthrowing asceticism; it has lost much of its former brutality, of its spirit of untruthfulness, and of its ignorance. Even in its extreme wing, whose motto is *Ni Dieu ni Maître* (Neither God nor Master), we notice progress. Compare it with the materialism of the eighteenth century; that of Diderot, of Cabanis, of La Mettrie, and of the Encyclopedists. They were as coarse and as dishonest as they were bold. The materialists of to-day do not, as a rule, go beyond negations; those of former days were more positive in the dogmatic assertion of their unbelief. Under their inspiration the churches were closed and on the gates of all the cemeteries of France was the inscription: "Death is an eternal sleep." Their materialism had not only asserted itself in the domain of science and of life, but also in that of history. The great historical facts of Christianity were generally denied. Christ was considered the artificial creation of human fancy. Napoleon represented the questionings of his time when he asked Herder if Jesus ever lived. These questions were so common in France that Lacordaire in his *Conférences* attempted to prove the historical reality of Jesus. In 1863 M. Renan published a book whose influence was great. The time of its publication seemed unfortunate. The upholders of the theory of spontaneous generation seemed to have triumphed along the whole line. They claimed that they could account for the universe and for all life without a God. M. Renan said that he could historically account for the facts of the life of Christ without the supernatural. The *Vie de Jésus* attained a circulation of 130,000 copies. During the year that followed a flood of Christological literature

passed over the country. More than one hundred lives of Jesus and answers to M. Renan's book were published. Men thought and pondered much upon Christological problems. Two important results followed. First, no one now who has any education dares to question the historical reality of Jesus. Second, every one is ready to admit the moral beauty and the transcendent grandeur of Christ. From the point of view of Christian aggressiveness, we are glad to recognize that there has been great progress. Furthermore, the new generation of men educated in the institutions representing the new learning of France are fast rejecting Voltaireanism as too shallow and as unworthy of an age of truth and reason. Two years ago, M. Anatole France, a militant anti-Christian critic, said: "Our young men have ceased to be Voltaireans." A recoil from negation and especially from materialism is visible everywhere. It began when Pasteur exploded the hopes built by materialists upon the theory of spontaneous generation. The change was already noticeable when, in the French Academy, he affirmed his faith in a divine power in and above the phenomenal world. No one more than he has proclaimed the insufficiency of materialistic science in explaining the facts of life, while others have demonstrated it experimentally. The most serious thinkers found that it had robbed man by depriving him of the eternal hope, that it had lowered patriotism by making the Fatherland an aggregate of interests and instincts, that it had degraded life by making it a selfish striving and a blind desire, and man a bundle of sensations. From its own ranks were heard the most pathetic utterances of disappointment which found innumerable echoes in the press of the country and in literature. M. Melchior de Voguë became one of the leading exponents of that conviction. With keen insight and great literary power, he mercilessly set forth the wrecks of scientific materialism, the defects of its methods, and the evil of excessive analysis without synthesis. His utterances, glowing with conviction, with mystical longings, with pity for humanity, embody the spirit of the divine Teacher. He has attempted to turn the thoughts of his followers toward a lofty humanitarianism, and an ideal rejuvenated Catholicism yet to be born. M. Paul Desjardins has also been a most conspicuous figure in the movement. His book, *Le Devoir Present* (The Present Duty), is one of the best literary expressions of this new religious ten-

dency. His articles in *Le Journal des Débats* are the "sermons in stones and good in every thing" of Shakespeare. It is difficult to classify him theologically, but his earnest, eloquent, tactful utterances will appeal to every God-hungered soul. Paul Bourget has lately called himself a Christian; much in the recent writings of that choice spirit reveal the drift of his mind, a clear consciousness of the ethical and sociological power of religion. Among the men in this new current we might mention Edward Rod, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, Coppée, George Duruy, and others who are rather the representatives than the creators of the new movement. Those in sympathy with it are not unreflecting mystics, a generation of John Henry Newmans, committing mental suicide; they are men attempting to assimilate from religion the elements that are helpful to their thought and life. Like Shelley they would say,

> "... What may tame my heart
> Must leave my understanding free."

In short, they are studying religion with intelligence, seriousness, and sympathy. To them may be applied the words of Prof. Lavisse that they have *la nostalgie du divin*, the homesickness of the divine.

A reaction has been attempted. Prof. Aulard of the Sorbonne has sounded its note, but has awakened little response. M. Zola has tried to defend materialistic science by saying that it had promised us truth but not happiness. He thereby indorsed the utterances of the new men. Still, even M. Zola himself has lately revealed a new spirit in his utterances in which one can scarcely recognize the author of *Le Roman expérimental*. M. Renan, by an inconsistency which we cannot explain, ever protested against materialism. He unwittingly created a great deal of Christological inquiry. He interested his generation in Christ, or at least did not allow it to forget the historical reality of this matchless being. M. Taine, who gave a formula to the naturalistic school, who fascinated France by his brilliant materialistic works, proclaimed that his own teachings were inadequate to life when he wished to have his children trained in Protestant beliefs, and himself buried with Protestant rites. His last articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* recognized the dynamic value of religion. Even by comparing that well-known publication with itself

a few years past, one is astonished to see the expression of the new movement in it both in its tone and in the number of new men writing for it. Most of the new members of the French Academy are either Christians or sympathizers with the truths and ideals of Christianity. The French government, though in the hands of the older generation, has established chairs of Comparative Religion in the Collège de France, the Sorbonne, and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. The professors in these chairs are, as a rule, fair-minded men animated with the scientific spirit. They cannot do any harm to their hearers who were hitherto indifferent to religion. Christianity can but gain by the work done in this department. The significant thing, however, is not so much the result of the work done as the motive that set the leading materialists to study scientifically the manifestations of religious feelings in the human race. The materialists of the eighteenth century could never have paid it such homage. We might show that this twofold movement of dissatisfaction with materialism and the growing respect for religion extends even to the masses. Still, the most important point of this all is that the movement proceeds from materialism itself, it is the spontaneous combustion of its own hopes whose dim light leads them almost to the threshold of the Christian churches. Now, what is the power of these churches to help, to guide, and to win those who are daily enfranchising themselves from the thraldom of materialism?

The Roman Catholic Church is still the spiritual home of a large number of Frenchmen. It does not always appear perfect to them, still a certain eclecticism makes it tolerable. Furthermore it is not the homogeneous body which it has appeared to be. It has theological unity, it is true, but diversity of tendencies and aims. In its midst we discern the two great currents of life, if not of thought, which we find in all religious bodies, the conservative and the progressive. At present the liberal tendencies are rapidly transforming the life of Catholicism. Its clergy and the forefront of its laymen who have hitherto sided with the classes have lately turned towards the masses. Encouraged by Leo XIII., they have entered with remarkable zest upon a social work akin to that of socialists in its social pessimism, but with a different aim. Its philanthropic works are innumerable, and the evidence of a charity that is intense, if not always intelligent. Its missionary efforts in foreign fields give it the first place among

Catholic nations. In education it has accomplished great things by attempting to cover France with its educational institutions of all grades in order to cope with the secularized institutions of the state. In its efforts to secure high excellence, new intellectual habits were fostered, a larger mental grasp was developed, and a greater faith in research and in truth was establised. Catholic scholars and scientists hitherto scattered were brought together in two congresses, with a new sense of freedom under a pope who wishes to bring religion and science nearer by the revival of the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. The pulpit has also changed its tone. Such preachers as Hulst, Frémont, Vignaux, Etourneau, Didon, and the sermons of the late abbé Perrault inspire the conviction that a new spirit is at work in the church. Nothing is more evident than the Christocentric tendencies manifested in the preaching and the teachings of the French Catholic clergy. Again, what are we to think of priests who dare to speak with a certain frankness of the inconsistent character of some of the popes, or of l'abbé Klein urging the clergy to read *La Science sociale*, or *L'Economiste français*, saying, with a touch of irony, that it will benefit them as much as the publication known as *Les Annales du purgatoire*? Withal, the church has formally relinquished none of its pretensions, none of its superstitions, and very little of its arrogance towards Protestantism, and yet we could speak of priests reading Protestant literature, of preachers quoting approvingly the affirmations of Protestant pastors, and of Catholics singing Protestant hymns. It seems to us that the Catholic Church in France has never been more absorbed by its spiritual mission, so reasonable towards other communions or towards the civil powers. It does not always inspire sympathy among the new men, but it inspires respect. It has not as yet visibly exerted a great influence upon them. What the future will bring forth we do not know. Hitherto Catholicism boasted of its immutability; it may yet possibly boast of its power of transformation.

We now come to French Protestants. Their survival is almost a wonder. They endured more than two centuries of persecutions which were a long reign of terror to them. The continuance of calamity, the antagonism of their environments, the fatal influence of materialism had almost destroyed their beliefs. The ecclesiastical organization which Napolean framed

for them in 1801, and which still survives, was rather a prison than a home for religious life. Still, since then, they have grown in numbers. They have come into the possession of all the institutions and organizations needed for the education of their pastors and their laymen ; for the publication and distribution of Bibles, books, tracts, and religious papers; for the relief of the poor, the sick, and the needy ; for an extensive and heroic work in difficult missionary fields abroad; and for admirably conducted work at home, like the *Société Centrale*, the *Société évangelique*, and the McAll Mission, whose ministrations are mostly performed by French Protestants. Their general gifts for church work were virtually nothing at the beginning of this century; now they are more than 5,000,000 francs. These facts indicate a deep organic growth in the life of the churches which has expressed itself by these activities within as it has manifested itself without in many domains. In 1801 they were excluded as instructors from the institutions of learning ; now they have professors in all the great institutions of Paris, in the School of Law, of Medicine, in the Collège de France, in the *Ecole normale supérieure*, the highest institution of the land, and, by one of the most remarkable vicissitudes of history, the Sorbonne, which in by-gone days condemned Protestants to be burned, now has a descendant of the Huguenots at its head. The literary works of their great men were not even mentioned in literary texts-books ; now even Calvin has a fair place in them, and Agrippa d'Aubigné, one of the most anti-Catholic poets that the world ever knew, has his works placed upon the programme of the University. They were excluded from offices; now they have high places in the civil service, places won, not by the shameful practices of the spoils system, but by their intrinsic ability and their sterling character. They were excluded from politics; now they have proportionately a large representation in the Parliament. At one time even the majority of the Cabinet was Protestant. Their ancestors were looked upon as rebels ; now they are viewed as martyrs. The statues of several of them adorn the city of Paris and other centres of France. Then the life of Protestantism was not only feeble and frail, but its interpretations of Christianity were timid and shallow. It was deepened intellectually by the influence of Germany, which imparted to it a more scholarly spirit, scientific methods of study, and, to use

Samuel Vincent's words, "opened the Bible to French Protestants." With this, however, came in a lifeless rationalism. Then it was quickened by a celebrated revival which stirred the churches, and which is still spoken of as *Le Réveil.* This marks the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon influence, which brought inspiration to activity, a more practical earnestness, and an unconditional surrender to Biblical authority. But with it came Biblicism and pietism. The influences of Germany and of the Anglo-Saxon world have continued to this hour, and have determined two tendencies, and created two parties, the Rationalists and the Evangelicals. The first party lays much stress upon education, culture, and philanthropy in its teachings. Notwithstanding the devotion of some of their noblest spirits, the Rationalists suffer from the lack of positive spiritual compasses, from excessive introspection, from a disposition ever to strive for the better and the higher while neglecting urgent duties close at hand. They have, to use the late Prof. Caro's words, "the disease of the ideal" which discourages the use and development of humbler gifts. The Evangelical party represents the largest possible Evangelical spectrum, having at one end the most pronounced theological conservatism and at the other the most advanced form of progressive orthodoxy. The *real* dividing line is belief in the supernatural. The Evangelicals have accomplished the greater part of the works which we have sketched. They have a keen sense of the mission of the church and of the demands of its dignity. They have shown a greater independance than the Liberals, so called, in their attitude toward the state. They have protested when their rights were overlooked, and, as a mark of their intention and determination, they have formed an independent synodical organization within that of the state. Accordingly, with the Liberals, they constitute the official Reformed Church, while as Evangelicals they have a synodical organization which is fast becoming the organic Evangelical Church of France. It represents the moral guidance, the organized inspiration, and the responsible authority of the leading activities of Protestants. The Lutheran Church is also a state church. Its importance is not to be determined by its numbers. It occupies an important though a small place in the French Protestant world. In 1849, under the inspiration of Frédéric Monod, free churches were organized. One cannot but regret

that, with their noble ideals and with the remarkable men within them, they should not have met with more success. The Wesleyan churches have exercised a beneficent influence upon a large number of cold and indifferent French churches, while the activities of their laymen have been valuable object-lessons. The Baptists have been at work for more than half a century. They are known for their missionary zeal and their fearlessness. Their churches, about fifteen in number, have been formed almost exclusively of converts from the Roman Catholic Church. While these last three religious bodies are very small, their influence upon each other has been good, and together they have profoundly affected the historic church. We cannot but regret the divisions among French Protestants, and yet these divisions lose much of their banefulness in presence of a strong sense of solidarity which unites them in their work and in the defence of their common interests. One common feeling of reverence for the Huguenots binds them to their heroic ancestry. One common purpose to help men to rise

> ". . . on stepping stones
> Of their dead selves to higher things"

belongs to all. One common power to form characters that have given a good name to Protestants is the prerogative of all. One common sympathy toward the toiling masses directs them in their attitude toward social questions. One common consciousness that churches must be missionary churches or die is prevalent among almost all. French pastors do not shine as remarkable theologians or philosophers, although they have good representatives of these two sciences, but as men of large religious culture. No class of men in the world is better qualified than they to wield a great power upon those disposed to break away from materialism. No man has uttered messages so well suited to present spiritual needs as Pasteur Wagner. His books, tremulous with sympathy and with accents of tender earnestness, have met with a reception truly gratifying. The thought of Protestant pastors has taken a twofold direction ; one is the social aspect of Christianity and the other a constant effort to get nearer to the historic Christ. They seem to recognize the truth voiced by Leo XIII. "The perfection of all society consists in pursuing and in reaching the end in view of which it

was founded; to turn from that end is death, to return to it is life again." To use the words of a distinguished pastor, "Modern Christianity returns to its origins and wishes to bring the church back to the principle from which it was born."

There are dark shadows in the religious condition of France; yet when we compare the three powers in the country which make for or against religious conviction, we shall feel that modern materialism is an improvement over that of the last century; that contemporary Catholicism with all its miseries is a lofty form of Christianity as contrasted with that at the time of the sinister Cardinal Dubois; that Protestantism, almost extinct a century ago, has, notwithstanding stupendous obstacles, risen to a life of power, dignity, and hope. "In religion," says Laboulaye, "the revolution of ideas defeats all human calculations; truth is the life of man to such an extent that we cannot touch it without profit, and it saves even those who contend against it. One thing is certain; it is that every time that the gospel has been opened to seek truth sincerely, there has been a renaissance of faith. This is enough to have confidence in the future." If it is true, as the author of *In Memoriam* has said, that there is more faith in honest doubt than is found in half the creeds, France is entering upon an age of faith—not the faith that antagonizes reason, but the faith which is the very crowning of reason.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF GERMANY.

By Count Andreas von Bernstorff of Berlin.

Before the Parliament of Religions, assembled in this city three weeks ago, I gave a short sketch of the religious life in Germany. To-day the subject given to me enables me to limit it to the cause of Protestantism, and, though only about two thirds of Germany are Protestant, still the great religious problems of the day are fought out on the basis of Protestantism. What makes it somewhat difficult to give this report is that we are undoubtedly in a state of transition. Problems are before us which wait for a solution. We are deeply engaged in a struggle on the vital points of religion, and who knows what the issue may be? But these very problems, this very struggle, make the religious state of Germany highly interesting. I feel it personally a joy and a privilege to be able to take part in this battle between light and darkness.

The greatest problem of the day is the working classes and their growing estrangement from all religion. The workingmen are, in the vast majority, in the hands of their socialist leaders, and though these latter say that they consider religion a private affair of every individual with which they do not interfere, yet in reality they are filled with the most decided hatred against Christianity. The consequence is that large numbers of workingmen are fast becoming atheists. A Christian worker who is much at home among these classes once said: "I have never seen an educated man who was a convinced atheist. Even if he pretended to be, I felt that there were doubts in his mind whether his assertion was true. But among the working classes I find men who are absolutely convinced that there is no God." Several attempts to hold religious open-air meetings in the northern and eastern suburbs of Berlin had to be given up because the socialists intentionally disturbed the meetings in a way that it was impossible to continue them. A socialist leader said openly

in Parliament that "the old God was done away with." Workingmen who take part in divine service and religious organizations have to undergo a fierce persecution from their comrades. Where will this lead to? Will it be possible to stem this tide of atheism and anarchy which threatens to destroy our churches as well as our modern civilization? The issue is in God's hand, but Christian men must do their duty. The first who undertook to throw himself into the contest was Pastor Stöcker, who visited this city last month at the invitation of Mr. Moody. In 1878 he started his Christian Socialist party, which seeks a reform and improvement of the condition of the laboring classes on the basis of Christianity. This party has now during fifteen years gathered a number of workingmen around its flag. Yet the very fact that it is a political party is its greatest weakness, because it makes it dependent upon the general political state of things. In the Rhine province the "Evangelical Workingmen's Associations" have drawn many members of this endangered class out of the ranks of social democracy. In Berlin an evangelistic agency, presided over by Count Pückler, has made it its object to gather workingmen into a Christian organization. This has been done in five places of the city, and a number of earnest decided Christians are thus made workers for Christ among their own class. Besides these special organizations religious work is being done among the laboring classes by the different city missions, by tract distribution, and also by the churches. We have many cheering examples that the work is not in vain, but the struggle is severe.

If I mentioned the working classes first, it is not because they alone are estranged from religion, but because among them unbelief takes its most acute form.

Among the more educated classes there is also a good deal of scepticism and rationalism, but I should think not more than in former generations, and undoubtedly much more is done now to counteract these influences than formerly. We have now a clergy far superior to previous times. Our pastors are in the great majority orthodox men who lead a moral and irreproachable life. As the religious indifference in a great number of our congregations is a consequence of the activity of the clergy in the rationalist era, the work of our present ministers will undoubtedly be felt in a future generation. But we have in this respect another difficulty to contend with. German theology seems to

go once more the way of unbelief. The present believing clergy were educated by men like Hengstenberg, Kahnis, Luthardt, Delitzsch, Beck, and others. We have yet some believing professors of eminence, especially Cremer at Greifswald and Schlatter, who has now been called to represent orthodoxy at the Berlin University, but they are few. Our young divines and through them many candidates of theology and young ministers are under the charm of the Ritschl school. It is not quite easy, especially for laymen, to understand and to give a clear idea of this new school. At all events it leaves no room for the atonement. The danger of this theology is that it gives no clear answers. Ask a man of these views if Christ is risen or not—he will not answer "yes" or "no," but he will say, "It is of no importance for our religion: He may be risen or not, the moral lesson taught by the idea of the resurrection remains all the same." The chief representative of that school, Professor Harnack, in Berlin, openly says that "no intelligent man can believe the Apostles' Creed," for instance these words: "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." To him Christ is the son of Joseph, but nevertheless filled with divine life. Luckily Professor Harnack's outspoken way has opened many eyes to the danger, and a large rallying around the old creed of Christendom has been the consequence.

Our students of theology are really in a very difficult position. If they adopt the teaching of their professors they become practically unfit for the ministry. It is therefore of the highest importance that other spiritual influences should be made to bear on the students. This is being done in a preparatory way by Bible readings among the elder pupils of our higher schools—a hopeful new mission work—and for the students themselves by our Young Men's Christian Associations, and by special conferences for students. For the last four years an annual conference has taken place, in 1892 and 1893 at Frankfort-on-the-Main, to promote spiritual life among students. The number has been annually increasing, this year to about one hundred, and most of those who attended the former conferences were present again and came forward as decided Christians.

The vast majority of our Protestant population belongs to the different state churches. They are Lutherans, Calvinists, or United Evangelicals. The dissenters, especially the Methodits

and Baptists, are gaining ground, but very slowly. It is remarkable that Germany has never proved a fruitful soil for free churches. There is now a movement for obtaining greater independence for the churches from the state. This movement will undoubtedly increase and perhaps obtain some concessions from the government, but it seems to me very doubtful whether the attempt to make a state church gradually more independent will ever really succeed. The introduction of a synodical representation of our churches has in reality, though it was much dreaded at the time, proved useful. It has roused many more formal church members to a sense of their duty. Our churches are getting more alive. Since the new church constitution has been given, a number of salutary church laws have been promulgated.

The law on civil marriages in 1875 made a number of people who had hitherto been obliged to seek the pastor in order to be married, quite free from all church restraint. Our churches then realized that real voluntary activity was necessary to bring these people back to the church. This very decided increase of ecclesiastical life is perhaps one of the reasons why the spirit of the Evangelical Alliance did not gain so much ground as we would have desired. Let me explain it by an example. Up to 1875 baptism was compulsory. Now ministers, church elders, city missionaries, try to induce all these people who neglect to have their children baptized to seek the ordinances of the church. This makes them reluctant to join with Baptists. In every respect the desire to raise the position and influence of our churches is aimed at, and this of necessity fosters a sectarian spirit. Nevertheless the flag of the Evangelical Alliance is held up in Germany. We are going to have the first national German conference of the Alliance in November in Berlin. The increasing dangers of the age will not fail to bring Christians closer to each other. On the other side we cannot but welcome the increase of church-work. A great help has come in this respect from our imperial throne. The Emperor has the development of religious life at heart, and the Empress is a living and earnest Christian in the deepest sense of the word. While in the last twenty-five years only three churches have been built in our large capital, while the population increased from half a million to a million and a half, we see now twenty-five churches built in about three years. It is a pleasing sight to see our young sovereign

and his wife driving to the openings of new churches in those poorer parts of the town where royalty is seldom seen, and where now a hearty welcome is made visible at almost every window.

What seems to me to be the most hopeful, however, is the increase of deep spiritual life and all the consequences connected therewith. The representatives of this movement meet at conferences in Gnadau, a small Moravian settlement. The conferences are always highly refreshing by the spirit of prayer and unity. The tendency going out from them is: 1. Gathering of believers to closer fellowship; 2. Sanctification; 3. Lay work; 4. Evangelization. The gathering of believers is done by conferences for the deepening of religious life. Such brotherly conferences are held in various parts of the country. In Berlin we have now since eight years a noon prayer-meeting. All these meetings tend to promote spiritual life. Our new Young Men's Christian Associations in Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Stuttgart, and many other places also work on that line. Formerly there was much talk and discussion about lay work, now we do not argue the principle, but we show it practically. Our Young Men's Christian Associations are conducted by laymen and are a school for lay work. We have been able to introduce many young men into voluntary religious work. We have even made a successful beginning with open-air meetings. This is quite a progress. Though it was impossible in those places which were the chief resorts of the socialists, we had during the last four years very good meetings in our large western park, the Grunewald. We have only twice been disturbed in these four summers, and always had a large number of attentive listeners, many remaining during the whole meeting.

The work of evangelization is chiefly carried on by a very able and efficient evangelist—Mr. Schrenk. He receives now a great many more calls than he can attend to. In many cities his work has given a new, strong impulse to religious life. He has not many fellow-workers yet, but a few are coming out, and the Johanneum at Bonn, the training-school for evangelists, founded by the late Professor Christlieb, is supplying the want. The men who undertook to help before this have chiefly been trained at the Crischona, near Basle. I must also mention a voluntary lay-evangelist, Lieutenant-Colonel von Knobelsdorff, who has taken

up the cause of the blue ribbon in Germany, and is doing general gospel work.

The very strength of all these new movements is demonstrated by the fact that quite recently an opposition has been roused against them on ecclesiastical grounds. They are styled Anglo-American and alleged to be opposed to sound church principles. This will not stop the work. We take what is good from wherever it comes. We gladly received from this country the Sunday-schools which have been such a help to us and which steadily increase in our country. Almost all our voluntary Christian workers have begun to work in the Sunday-schools. We also received from you the impulse to remodel our Young Men's Christian Associations. We are deeply grateful for these things, but we think that aggressive Christianity is not the special privilege of any country. This opposition will have one advantage, however; that is, to make our critical friends increase their own work on church lines. The works of home missions are numerous now in all parts of the country.

Even our so-called "liberal" churches see that they must do something, and they have therefore started a new society for foreign missions, working in Japan on what I might call a Unitarian basis.

On the whole, foreign mission work also has received a new impulse by the German colonies. We hear here and there a disdainful word on Protestant missions by men who are apt to admire the outward strength and discipline of the Church of Rome, but even from people who are not personally Christians the work of Protestant missions is more and more being recognized.

I can sum up: we have many adversaries and many dangers to meet, many problems yet to solve, but powers of light are increasing on the field through God's mercy.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By Lord Kinnaird of London.

Mr. Dodge, Ladies and Gentlemen: I would divide what I have to say, first, in regard to the present condition, as I understand it, of the work of the churches in our land. The subject that I have got is so large that I can of course only touch upon it. I may say at the beginning that I take a very hopeful outlook for the future of Christian work through Great Britain and throughout the world. I am not one of those who like to look on the dark side of things. I could, no doubt, if any one specially wanted it, give you a good many things which would make you very sad, and would send you away wishing you had not come here. But I prefer to look on the bright side, and to tell you of the wonderful progress which even in my short life—for I rejoice to consider myself a young man still, though I am afraid young men don't consider me so—but if one looks back on the five and twenty years, which is about the time I have been working, and thinks of what has been accomplished by the churches of God, I can only say we must put a new stone of Ebenezer, and say, Hitherto has God helped us. We have done what one would have thought was impossible, even in a lifetime, and we have a good part of our life still before us; and we are not only to work at railroad speed, as we used to work, but now we are learning to go at telegraphic pace also. Here, I may say, in the reference that I make to each subject, I will look at the opposite for a moment, and I hope to encourage sensible people that we are going forward. There is a danger when we go forward as we do. A danger in going so fast is that we may look at the amount rather than at the class of work. I think possibly there is many a church which outwardly appears to be most successful—it has got its buildings, its parish house, its church house in connection with it; you look at its work and its figures—as a business man I very naturally often look at the financial side of a church's

work—one looks there and says, "There must be plenty of live work here," and people believe in the work because they see the sum total that has been raised for philanthropic and other organizations. But there comes the danger, and oh, may each one of us realize that danger, that it is not really in the multitude of the meetings, of the communicants, of the services! The question is, what kind of work do we turn out each year? Oh, may God grant that in all our organizations we may remember and make room for the working of the Spirit of God! The wind bloweth where it listeth, and the organization may be perfect; but if we don't make room and take time enough to be holy and time enough to get men saved, it is possible that the organization may become a disadvantage, and that the best organized church may in the end have most cause to lament that God has not given it the blessing that it had when it was in smaller surroundings and with less magnificent organization. But notwithstanding that, there is, I think, if I may say it, one thing which strikes one with reference to the work in Great Britain. It is that we have made our organization far more perfect, and in many cases one may say, I think, that outwardly we have a perfect organization for the work that is to be done, and that is a matter for thankfulness.

And then, if I may say—some people may lament it, some people may rejoice at it—there is no doubt that the churches are doing the work which used to be done unitedly. My own personal feeling is that I am very glad of it. It adds a little to the difficulty of those who are having to carry on united efforts. It is making a little difficulty for the Young Men's Christian Association or the Young Women's Christian Association or for the Bible Society or certain other missions which are representing the universal church. There is a little difficulty, but there is plenty of room for both, and I think that if there is a little more work thrown on the treasurer and the secretary, it is a good thing to keep them up to the mark. If there is not a healthy competition, the best secretaries go to sleep, and the best treasurers have not their best life and inspiration brought out, and so I am glad to be able to report to you, as far as we are concerned, that what used to be done unitedly the churches themselves are doing; that the Methodist Church and the Episcopal Church of England and the Baptist Church are each one doing to-day what twenty years ago we were only strong enough to do unitedly.

And I think that marks a distinct step forward ; because, you see, instead of having merely a united organization, which does not call out the inspiration and the enthusiasm of church workers as a distinct church work, it is, I think, very nice to see that most of our churches are now having young men's and young women's clubs, most of them are having a complete organization for getting at the poor, most of them are having a complete organization for holiday clubs and social life, as well as for special missions.

Then, if I may say it, another striking feature in Great Britain is that the churches themselves are taking up more systematic evangelistic work ; that many find that the work is better where the church does not have an evangelist going merely on its own account, without being accountable to any society, but has a man working in connection with some society. There is the United Evangelization Society, with Captain Smith at its head ; but in many cases the churches are now doing the work themselves. Take the one which it is my honor to belong to in England—the Established Church of England. There is the Church Parochial Mission, and I am on the committee of that, and we have a certain staff of men who give their entire time to evangelistic work. Sometimes they have a mission in some big town like Chicago. Nearly every church would come into line and for a week they would give up their ordinary services and throw their pulpits open to the duly ordained men, sanctioned by the bishops of our church, sent out by the Church Parochial Mission, and they would come—for instance, in Chicago, all the churches of that denomination would be given up to them for that week. And you see the advantage that every one has who gets converted. Every one who is stirred up is at once handed over to the pastor and the workers, and the effect of the services is that, instead of being dissipated, as sometimes undoubtedly they may be in united missions, that disadvantage is done away with, and they are at once launched into church life. Well, that is a tremendous step forward, because you will see at once that the church is organizing its own men, teaching them how to work. For instance, all our best missionaries take one or two others and train them—give them their side meetings, let them speak in the smaller meetings. In time they will be handed on to take charge of a parish of their own. In that way we have a class of young men coming on, trained under orders, and occasionally a man

feels that he has been wandering about enough, then he is put back again into his regular parochial work, and then another man comes out into his place. I think it is very important that a man has not to take the step and feel that he has got to do it for life, and that he cannot go back. He is able to go back for a time to parochial work. It is one of the features of our time, and the other churches do the same. The Baptist, and the Presbyterian Church, and the Free Church of Scotland, are doing the same thing, and they are bringing out men for doing the work of the churches.

Then I may call your attention to the matter of united work. I am not speaking of your own country. I don't know how far it fits here. I hope you will be able to follow the thread of what we are doing over the water. Our great united societies there are of course, first and foremost, the British and Foreign Bible Society. That is the great society which brings together all the denominations at home and abroad. That is the great missionary feeder, without which the missionary societies could do nothing in our country—at least comparatively nothing, because they would not have the Scriptures to circulate. The basis of it is that half the members belong to the Established Church, and the other half belong to what we call the Non-conformist Churches.

Then there is the Church Society, which is the religious tract society. That is one of our great united societies. We never were better. The Bible Society made a special appeal last year for $500,000. They had been living on legacies for a long time, and somehow or other the rich people didn't die as quickly as by average they ought to have done, and therefore the society had gotten a little bit behind and was using up some of its funds, which furnish a certain amount of invested income, so as to be able not to retrench its work. I don't know whether it is a feature here so much, but, as somebody says, the work is being done by dead men and living women. That means that our great societies are being worked very much by legacies. Very often, when a man dies, as one did a while ago leaving the Bible Society a legacy of about $400,000, they think they are very rich and make great missionary grants, and then when that has gone on for a year or two, if another man does not die and leave a considerable sum they either have to retrench, which is not desirable, or they have to raise a special fund or encroach on their

reserve fund, which as business men they don't like. They thought it was well instead of retrenching to ask their friends throughout the country whether they would not come to the rescue. It was not that the income was going down, but the work was going up ; and they made that appeal, and one gentleman gave £5000 on condition that a certain sum should be raised—$25,000—and another said the same, and they got up to £80,000 in a very short time, which shows that the heart of England is still true to the principles of the Bible and of united work. I thank God that while there the churches are doing work denominationally, our united societies are as strong as ever.

Then there is the United Tract Society, which is to Christian work what the wholesale trader is to the retail trade. They provide the material at headquarters with a united committee, and anything that passes the Tract Society committee you may be perfectly certain that it is all right. Some men may object because they think a thing has some of its brighter parts taken out, but if you pass twenty people and they have all had a shot at it, you may be perfectly certain that it is sound, at all events, and that no harm will come if they have taken out some of the brightness and sparkle which one man believed should come out. They meet at breakfast and talk over things, and they stay until ten o'clock and then go to their business. Being business-men, they think it is best to go at that early hour, when the brain is fresh. Many of their offices are locked up till ten o'clock, or nine. Thank God for the young men who are coming in to take the places of those who are passing away.

Then there is the London City Mission. There never was a time when the churches had so many city missionaries and church-workers of all kinds. A short time ago they got a large legacy—and I hope some of the gentlemen in these cities will remember it is very nice to have these legacies ; I hope they will just remember, when they see their lawyers, to attend to this matter. It doesn't do any harm to the family, I believe, to help forward those who are doing this work. The London City Mission increased their staff of missionaries by fifty a short while ago, bringing it up to five hundred. The churches are doing great work, and also these united societies are doing great work. This I think a very healthy sign.

Then you may say, How does the Evangelical Alliance get

on? Well, there is no doubt we are holding our own at home in the old country. We are not getting as crowded meetings as we might have had years ago when it was new, very likely. You know how it is easier to fill a church than it is for the members of ten churches to fill a hall. But, on the other hand, it is a great thing even if half the number come together into a united work and see one another and shake hands and see that they are brethren in the flesh, and that they are not opponents; they are merely working together for the same object. I believe the Alliance does a mighty work by these united societies working together, doing a practical work. And we are under our admirable secretary, Mr. Arnold, who specially wished me to say what a disappointment it was for him not to be able to come, but the work pressed so much upon him he was not able to leave it and come. Under his administration and that of Lord Polwarth, our president, we are making progress. As I say, our meetings are not so crowded, any more than they are here. But, on the other hand, we all agree that a great deal of good will come from this, in the forces that work towards union, we believe. "That they all may be one, as thou art in me and I in thee, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." And this will be a great force in the work of uniting Christendom, I believe.

Then I will refer to those who are working in classes—the mechanics and the professional classes. Let me say in our country—and I believe all countries are very much alike—I don't believe in those peculiar places. I believe the gospel applied in Chicago will bring the same result as in New York or London or Glasgow, and I don't believe that the workingmen of Chicago have rejected the gospel of Jesus Christ any more than they have in London. I don't believe it is necessary to hide our light under a bushel. May I give you an instance, proving that the young men have not rejected Jesus Christ, and that it is not necessary to start a secular agency in order to be a success? I will undertake to test it by the ordinary business rules of success, of numbers of men turned from darkness to light. And I will undertake to say that I, as a business-man, would rather put my money into and would get a bigger dividend from religious work than I would in secular work. I rejoice in secular work. I rejoice that the world are paying their testimony to our work, that they are copying it. But I am not going to copy them and

abolish Jesus Christ and put him out in hoping to get hold of workingmen. I don't believe that will do. It is putting it on a very low ground, and I believe I could prove it if I had time. I could show you many places where that religious work has gone on for twenty-five years or longer, and at the end there is a better result than in another work which is secular. I am not saying a word against the secular work. I am glad they are doing that work. But I stick to my work and you stick to it, and don't you allow anybody to drive you away from flying the flag.

My friend Mr. Quinton Hogg, of the Polytechnic in London, was going to carry on a ragged school some twenty-five years ago. They said if he introduced Christianity he would frighten people away. We have a ragged school over there that Lord Shaftesbury founded as a mission to get young men. They don't remain ragged, of course. People come in and see boys in clothes that are good-looking and they say, "I thought this was a ragged school." We say, "Yes, it is; but Jesus Christ doesn't keep people ragged, he puts clothes on their backs." Mr. Hogg developed the ragged school into a young men's club, and then a young men's institute, and at last into the Polytechnic, which was a place of reasonable amusement, but which came to grief owing to our London Council obliging them to change their entrances. And so Mr. Hogg took the Institute to a different place, having run up the membership to about seven or eight thousand. The Trade Unions said to him most kindly, "Do as much Christian work as you like, but if you write over the top in as big letters as that, 'Young Men's Christian Institute,' the workingmen won't come in, because they object to religious work." Mr. Hogg said, "Well, if the workingmen of England are such fools—you say you know them; I say I know them. I believe that if we start right in the centre of London in Regent Street, away from the young men, if I give a good article in the centre, I believe the tram-cars will bring men to it, and I think the young men will come, if I give them the best article." The workingmen's leaders helped us in the best way they could, but they really thought the workingmen would be frightened away by seeing the name of Christ outside. Mr. Hogg said, "Very well; if they are such fools they shall stay outside and I will bring my boys in and they will teach the workingmen that they must turn to and train themselves or else the boys will take their

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place. I will never tear that sign down." Within the year these same gentlemen had the honesty to come to Mr. Hogg and say, "We think we ought to come, as honest men, and tell you that we made a huge mistake. We are very glad to say it, because we are not opposed to religion ourselves, but you know we don't all like some forms of it, but we are very glad that our youngsters should be put in this Institute. We really thought that it would keep them away." In five years the membership has gone up to thirteen thousand.

The same could be said of Mr. Barrington's work in the East End; and that kind of work is going on all along the line. To look at a lot of those fellows you wouldn't believe they were workingmen. I took some American gentlemen down there, and they were very much surprised at the appearance of the men. Of course they get good clothes. They said to me, "You don't mean to tell me these are workingmen." They didn't believe it. He talked to some of the workers. I said to him, "That man is a compositor in a printing-office." A congregation of them looks like any other congregation.

I am not judging you here. Don't misunderstand me. Possibly some point will make the cap fit you, and if it does, so much the better. But I am not fitting the cap. I am telling you of the state of religion in Great Britain. If you Christians want to succeed among the workingmen, don't you be ashamed of putting Jesus Christ in the forefront of your work. "Them that honor me, I will honor, and them that despise me shall be lightly esteemed." And those Christian workers that are ashamed of the gospel, I wouldn't give much for their work.

Let me give you another instance. I won't tell you the town it was in, but it was a relative of mine who made a common mistake, as do so many others. There seems to be a little gulf growing up between various workers—between church workers and philanthropic workers, between educational workers and evangelistic workers, between some of these other united societies which I love to work in. There seems to be a little jealousy. I think the only way to get that jealousy out is to get the Spirit of God in a good live evangelistic meeting. If you go down to the seaside when the water is low, you will see all sorts of things lying there—sewerage and broken bits of wood and such things as that; but when the tide comes in you don't see

it, because the tide is covering it. I dare say Dr. Prochet will tell you of that service we had for workingmen in the evenings in Florence, where men of all denominations and all lands came together to stand up and speak of the wonderful works of God. I believe that is what workingmen want. Will you give it to them? That is what our workingmen want here and in England, and that is a point we have made on the other side of the water.

I was going to tell you about my friend. He started a work for athletics. He put into it about $30,000 of his own money. He went and lived there himself. His individuality carried the thing, of course. Any strong man may work an agnostic or an infidel club. If a strong man is working it, it will be a success. The point is, what will happen when he goes? My friend went up into the lake district. He fell down a hill and broke four or five ribs and had to be away three or four months. The athletes came together and were too much for the manager, and they wrecked the club. The master was away. There being no conversions, there was nothing to hold the thing together, and after that the work had to be dropped. Then he took up other social work, and went on the Board of Guardians and did a good work. I am not speaking of him, but I am telling you what that work is as compared with the evangelistic work, where you get them saved and they come to a belief in Jesus Christ and then they carry on the work themselves. May I say here, to explain our position, I could tell you of perhaps twenty organizations which are working on secular lines. There are these Polytechnics. There is the People's Palace. The fundamental thing there is a social organization rising out of the idea of Walter Besant's book, to make it a paradise for workingmen. It is very nice indeed. There is a beautiful winter garden which one of our nobility gave, which cost $40,000. Another of our nobility gave a large swimming-bath which cost five and twenty thousand dollars. It is a most beautiful thing. There is an organ, one of the finest in London. But the organ is not going to regenerate human nature. The organ is going to help us, but it is not going to make a new creature of you. They may be musical people and remain worldly people. You cannot lift up people thoroughly till they get the new principle in themselves. I am not speaking critically of any one, remember, but I am just stating the facts. And there is great

danger, I may say here, of people using unfairly—they don't mean to do so, but they use unfairly the word "religious." They cut out religion and say they are doing a religious work because of some high ideal they set up. I maintain that the English language is murdered very often by philanthropic workers. They don't like to say they are irreligious, and I don't say they are; but they are not religious unless they bring the religion of God into their work, and if they shut it out they have no right to call it a religious work. They may call it a philanthropic work, and we may thank God for the work they are doing, but their young men's clubs, where they smoke and have concerts on Sunday afternoons—it is better than their being in a public house, undoubtedly, but saying that is a religious work is to my mind a confusion of language. At all events, it would be so in our country.

Now, the last thing, I may just speak of three or four advanced movements that I was asked to mention, that have taken place within the last few years.

First: A marvellous movement that has come—it is very difficult to get a new name: any one who invents a new name for a thing is likely to make a fortune nowadays—we have what we call a Convention. It is a meeting at one of our lakes where they meet for the deepening of spiritual life. They have speakers on a definite line, without any definite programme, but just speaking led by the Spirit of God, with a strong chairman, which is a great thing. If the committee don't think a man speaks according to the Spirit of God, he is not asked to speak again. If I should tell you the number that have gone to home and foreign missionary work as a result of this meeting, it would be wonderful. One of these conferences started last year in Scotland at the bridge of Halpin. Mr. Robert Wilson of Carlisle is the chairman, a most practical, common-sense Scotchman, and he knows how to organize a meeting as well as any one I have ever seen. The result of that was that one of the best monographs was issued, through France, Belgium, and Holland, and we look for great things from that.

Then there comes also the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon. I wish I had time to tell you of that. I will admit it may be very fine and good and pleasant, and very little of the gospel. But what we want as Christians is something in it to keep it on right lines. We want, in our various social movements, in our work

and in our preaching, to close the gulfs that exist between the various classes. It is making good progress. Even our big public schools are having missions in great numbers. Eaton has a mission, and Harrow. The boys, you see, in that way get trained to giving. Eaton College has perhaps thirty masters' houses where there are forty boys. They run one another. Each house likes to be highest and raise the largest amount. There is a rivalry. From the time the boy is ten years old, he learns to help the Board. Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.

Then we have university settlements, and I am very much interested in hearing of your university settlements here. You see, we are doing the same work, for the same Master and for the same purpose.

And the last thing is that we have learned that the foreign mission work is the work of the church. We have learned that we are to send some of our best men. It used to be thought that any one was good enough to be a foreign missionary. Any one that didn't get an appointment was sent away to the foreign mission work. Thank God we are learning that we don't want useless, turned-off men for the foreign work. We believe in sending our best men. You remember that memorable time when Dr. Duff said, coming home from India, on turning to the moderator of the General Assembly of Scotland, "Mr. Moderator, I look forward to the time when you won't send your young men, but when we shall have our best men going out; when you, Mr. Moderator, will think it is a part of your duty, before you are fit to be moderator, to have visited our foreign fields; when our foremost men of the church will go out and take the practical teaching they have got, and not send merely the young and untried men, but send those who can speak from a full heart of the wonderful work of God." And thank God now you know this in your foreign missionary work; and we thank you for your wonderful work in India, in helping us in our great weakness by the earnest men you have; and what we want is the stanch material like that splendid young man you sent over to us to do that work—Mr. Wilder—that the gospel of Christ may be sent abroad to the whole world before the century is out. Oh, may you and I join in that aspiration, not to go abroad, but to give ourselves to God and to work for him wherever he may send us!

I can give you, I think, a truthful and satisfactory account of the work at home. We are going forward and overcoming many a prejudice. And may God grant that the Evangelical Alliance may put fresh courage into every worker here, and we shall go back to our own country to tell of the wonderful things God is doing, and may we not be ashamed to say that we are his servants! And, as I said before, "Them that honor me," (we claim that promise,) "I will honor." May God grant that he will allow each one of us to be his followers!

STATE OF RELIGION IN ITALY.

By Rev. Comm. Matteo Prochet, D.D., of Rome.

"We Italians owe to the Curia Romana [papacy] our being a nation of infidels." So said Macchiavelli and Guicciardini, the two great writers and thinkers of whom Florence, their birthplace, is justly proud. This severe and scorching sentence has been quoted times without number by Roman Catholic authors and journalists, and in late years by hundreds of those who have been engaged in the work of evangelization of the Peninsula. I have done so myself in the first period of my ministry, but now, after thirty years' work and mixing with all classes of my fellow-countrymen and a closer study of the people, I could not repeat it without restriction and explanation. That the Curia Romana bears an awful responsibility for the sad state into which religion has fallen in Italy there is no doubt. From Dante, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, to Bonghi, Mariano, and other thinkers of our day, a long, uninterrupted sequel of writers have said and say so. Few, however, have looked at the other side of the question, i.e., at the influence of the people on the Curia Romana (papacy). *Audi alteram partem* is a maxim the justice of which appears obvious to any unprejudiced mind. Some one has said "a people has the government it deserves." I do believe it; history of the past ages proves it. May we not say also that, to a certain extent, a people has the religion it deserves? Could the Church of Rome have acquired the power it has so long possessed, transformed the religion of Christ into a caricature of it, if it had not found a favorable ground for it? Would the Church of Rome have become what it is if, instead of Rome, it had had Berlin, London, or Edinburgh as its head centre? I have no hesitation to answer, *No*. To be just, impartial, let us admit that there has been action and reaction. Little by little the church departed from the pure, simple, and grand teaching of Christ, added to it, changed it, and come to the point of being in flat contradiction

with it. And the people ? The people submitted to the change, nay, favored it. We have, it is true, here and there, pious souls who seem to feel instinctively that God, when he gave his Son to the world, wanted something else than the Christianity such as it had become. But they are few and far between, and their protestations are lost in the enthusiastic or indifferent acquiescence of the masses. I said "instinctively" for want of a term that would express thoroughly my idea. St. Francis of Assisi, St. Catherine of Siena, and kindred minds and souls felt that the church, as it was in their times, did not reflect the love of God to poor perishing sinners, the compassion of Christ toward the sufferers, but they did not see the real cause of the discrepancy; they seemed not to suspect that the reason lay in the teaching which was no longer the teaching of the pure gospel. Their efforts were concentrated upon one point, to bring back the church to the "rich poverty" of the primitive Christians. Hence the foundation of stricter monastic rules with the vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty; hence the failure of all those efforts to infuse into the church the spiritual life which was ebbing out.

But, to understand better the present state of things, we must go farther back than the twelfth and the thirteenth century. We must remember what had taken place in Europe when Constantine the Great, for the reasons we know, declared himself a Christian, when to be a Christian involved no longer the possibility of a cruel death; when, on the contrary, it led to the enjoyment of imperial favors, when there enlisted under the banner of Christ thousands and millions whose hearts did not love him, whose minds had no conception of his doctrines. In one word, to a great extent, and for too many, alas ! a varnish of Christianity covered the paganism which was never entirely destroyed in Italy. Time does not permit to enter into details, nor to consider how far that might be said of other nations. I must confine myself strictly to my subject. I have no hesitation to give as my deep conviction, and as the only possible explanation, to my mind, of the religious condition of Italians, the belief that paganism was never totally killed. It remained under multifarious forms, as the heathen nations of Caanan remained with God's people, to be a snare to it, and a cause of its fall and ruin. More, or worse still, pagan customs, rites, superstitions, remained, mixed up with the Christian idea, and adulterated it. Where there was a real conversion of the

heart, this remnant of paganism was swallowed up and rendered harmless, just as some poisons have no deadly influence upon strong constitutions; but where the conversion did not take place, Christian principles and maxims were injured to the extinction of real Christian life. This may sound like the prejudiced opinion of a man in whose veins runs the blood of his fathers, who for a thousand years resisted Romish influence. Let us then hear a Roman Catholic writer who, in 1891, printed the following words in his "Italia Mistica e Italia Pagana": "The old gods of heathendom have never totally departed from our soil, from the temples, the houses, and the hearts of Italians. A large portion of Italy, and especially the southern, may be truly said never to have ceased to be pagan." (Barzellotti, page 650.) Cicero states that the statues of the gods show their magic power only in times of war. What do we read in the Christian era? During a war a Madonna of Treviglio was covered with perspiration and wept; one in Milan stretched out her arms; another in Arezzo changed her color; during the political disturbances of the end of the last century, almost all the Madonnas of Rome took to rolling their eyes, weeping and turning pale. *Six and twenty cases were declared duly proved by the Vatican!* Words and names have changed, but the conceptions of the people are to-day what they were two thousand years ago, and it may be said, speaking in a general way, that "wherever an ancient temple stood, a Christian saint has stepped in;" so, where Poseidon was worshipped in Greece and southern Italy, St. Nicola took his place—the name is changed, but the image is the same, as is the worship. The Calabrian girls go to St. Venera to obtain a husband; the Neapolitan women go to St. Ann, and the Romans to the Madonna of St. Agostino, for the same purpose for which those we now call heathens went to Juno, Lucina, and so on. The ancient idea of a "foreign god" has come down through the ages. The Neapolitans have not much confidence in St. Elia (brought to them from Greece by Carmelite monks); they say, speaking of him, "he is *forestiero*"—stranger. These few examples, taken out of thousands, will suffice as illustrations of Barzellotti's bold and striking assertion.

When the Reformation came, like a mighty wind it shook the Roman Catholic Colossus to its very foundations. Italy had its share. No Luther, no Calvin, no Knox to move the people with

their powerful, fiery eloquence, and yet the Reformation doctrine found acceptance in many cities and in Rome itself. *Perhaps the humble but persevering work of the Waldenses had its share in the preparation of the ground.* Professors, monks from the pulpit or the chair attracted the attention of students and people; among them, Celio Curione, Pietro Martire Vermigli, Aonio Paleario, and scores of others; even cardinals, such as Contarini and Sadoleto, were favorable to the Reformation. How is it that in less than fifty years all the voices that proclaimed gospel truth were hushed to silence, and that in a small corner alone of the peninsula trembling hearts continued to worship God in spirit and in truth? The counter-reformation had taken place; the Inquisition and the Jesuits had joined their efforts to uphold the tottering edifice of the papacy; victims had fallen by thousands, and other thousands had sought refuge in more favored lands,—the Reformation had been stifled in blood. The Church of Rome had its large share of responsibility, there is no doubt, but no unprejudiced and illuminated mind could ascribe to the Inquisition alone, and to its bloody exploits, the merit or the sin to have crushed once more and for other centuries the consciences which seemed to awake to new and nobler conceptions of their rights. Alas! the people, the mass of the people, were not touched by the Reformation. Were it not for the Inquisition and the Jesuits, the Reformation would have taken root in Italy; in the course of time a large proportion of the population would have enlisted under its banner. But when the persecutions came they found the good seed had fallen in stony ground and had but little root, and it was burnt. Why? was it deeper love to the Romish Church which kept Italians within its folds, whilst the majority of the northern nations separated from it? History would give a flat denial to any one venturing to suggest such a thought. All the other European nations put together cannot offer such a number of men who have written freely about Rome, who have lashed the corruption and tyranny with such burning words, from Dante downwards. The awe which cowed other nations before the pope never swayed Italians in like manner. A single instance to prove it: Hardly a century had elapsed since the German emperor, struck by the papal excommunication, had to come to Canossa and put his neck under the very foot of Gregory VII., when Arnaldo da Brescia began his

eloquent efforts against the papal power and the corruption of the church. Excommunication after excommunication were hurled against him in vain; he proceeded to Rome itself, into the very den of the lion, and created a republic which lasted ten years. How many a time have not the Italian republics, Venice, Genova, for example, resisted victoriously the encroachments of the pope and vanquished his armies? And, in our own days, did we not see the Italian troops entering the Eternal City through the breach of Porta Pia, and establishing the government of the land by the side of the pope, regardless of his anathemas?

No, it was not a stronger love to the Church of Rome, nor the terrors of the Inquisition, that kept Italy under its control. Had the Reformation taken hold of the people, the people would have come out victorious from the struggle. The reason of the failure is a deeper one, and must be sought in that mixture of paganism and Christianity which formed the religion of the masses and prevented them from grasping the grand truths which quickened northern Europe. Italians saw, better than any other nation, the evil of papal domination, but—and here is the reason —whilst they detected and condemned the defects of the system, they never conceived the religion without that system. Dante himself, who does not hesitate to locate popes and cardinals in hell, seems not to have dreamt that the church of Christ could be without them. The Italian author already quoted, studying the causes of the failure of the Reformation in Italy, finds the principal one in what he calls the "spirit of the people" and comes forth with the following striking judgment: "The Latin race, but above all Italians, had been and remained Roman Catholics rather than Christians in the highest and truest sense of the word, Roman Catholics in what constitutes their religiousness, i.e., in their peculiar way of feeling and conceiving moral subjects, life and its end, the divine and the spirit." Another distinguished writer, whose premature death (October, 1891) caused general regret, Professor A. Gabelli, concurs in the preceding with words which I could not sign without restriction, but which are worth quoting, as they lead us into the centre of our subject: "The nations of the Reformation alone, by putting their faith in accordance with the social development and making it capable of moving with it, have been renovated from the foundation and have entered anew into modern life. We

Latins, and especially we Italians, have kept our mediæval Catholicism and have with it wended our ways towards modern life. That is to say, we have entered it with a religion which remains motionless whilst everything around it moves, a religion which is in contradiction with social development and intelligence, nay, that is at loggerheads with them and takes up its abode in ignorance; a religion which constrains men to believe without thinking, or to think without believing; a religion which has caused the weakening of faith first, and then of morals; a religion which has made men credulous and corrupt; in a word, a religion which has lost every good and beneficent influence on the will and on life." A Protestant writer who should, in the latter end of this century, use such language would be set down as a bigot and a fanatic by many of his co-religionaries, especially by those Protestants who nowadays seem to have undertaken a crusade in favor of the Church of Rome, calling upon Evangelical churches to look at her with more charitable eyes and less prejudiced minds, going the length of seeing with the eyes of a robust faith a future reconciliation between the Evangelical and the Romish sections of Christendom. Would to God that all the disjoined members of Christendom were to gather closely around Christ, and, filled with the Holy Spirit, march united to the conquest of the heathen world! I am bold enough to say that no one desires it more sincerely, more earnestly, than I do. But whilst wishing and praying for it, I cannot shut my eyes and ignore the insurmountable obstacles that are in the way. Is it necessary to declare that I do not entertain bad feelings toward the men who represent the system, nor even towards him who is at the head? It is the system itself that I have in view,—it is popery and not the pope I am denouncing, as being farther away than it has ever been from the Christ, the representation of whom it pretends to monopolize on earth. Moreover, it is not with the official Roman Catholicism nor with its manifestations in Protestant countries that I am concerned, but with Roman Catholicism such as it is in Italy. Oh, if the men who, comfortably seated in their studies, have written what I have alluded to would visit Italy and study the people, especially the Neapolitans and Sicilians, I feel sure that the love they show for the Romish Church would go to the unfortunate victims of her teaching.

Conciliation! But Romanism and Protestantism are at a

greater distance than they have ever been. "The Catholicism of Italians," says Barzellotti, "has gradually drifted away from the evangelical Christianity of the nations of the north of Europe, until it has become the very opposite of it." And more forcibly still: "Italy and the nations of the north had reached that point of their culture and religiousness from which emerged two historical forms of Christianity, deadly opposed to each other and irreconcilable." This may appear a sweeping, even a risky judgment, but let it be borne in mind that he who gives it was born and educated a Roman Catholic, and that he has never shown the least tendency to abandon his church to enter another one. Only, he has studied his religion and its effects on the people with the elevated mind of a philosopher and a lover of truth, in the large sense of the word. Few men, alas! are giving attention to the subject, but those who have—Bonghi, Mariano, Gabelli, Barzellotti, etc.—all more or less agree in their judgments. I am justified, I think, in believing that they know their religion, its essence and moral influence, more and better than men who live hundreds and thousands of miles away from Italy.

What, then, is the religion in Italy, that religion which Italians proclaim to be so widely different from Protestantism? To give an adequate and exhaustive answer to that question would require a volume in which could be described at length the manifestations of Italian religiousness as they show themselves in the various provinces. Let it be borne in mind that Italy as a united kingdom is but of yesterday, that for centuries the north, the centre, and the south of the peninsula obeyed different masters and had little intercourse with one another, so that, as might be expected, there is a marked difference in those manifestations between north and south especially. Nevertheless, by keeping at a certain height we may have a *vue d'ensemble* which may answer the object for which this subject is treated before the Evangelical Alliance. However, before entering into the centre of the subject, let us glance at *the attitude of the people in general towards religion.* Let us hear Bonghi: "An Italian does not adhere to Catholicism by conscious, conscientious assent; he is Catholic because he is born in it and lives in it without thinking, knowing, or even willing." It would be difficult to give in so few words a wittier and more exhaustive definition of the indifference which forms the most striking feature of the Italian relig-

iousness, because it covers and comprehends even those who go more or less regularly through the forms of their worship. They are few and far between, the circles in which religion will, now and then, become the topic of conversation, and even when that happens it never assumes the form of a similar conversation among evangelical people. They may criticise the pope, the priests, laugh at this or that doctrine, utter about Protestantism the most absurd judgments, but never a word which might touch the individual conscience to reflection. The mystics, like St. Francis Assisi, St. Catherine of Siena, the Abbot Giovacchino, who delighted in communion with God, may have some representative still, but I never had the fortune to meet one, nor have I heard of any. This sad state of things is, it appears to me, the logical consequence of *the conception of what religion is or is to be.* Here again let us hear the definition of those Italians who have closely studied the question with an analytical mind: "Religion has always been (with us) a ritual observation of the precepts of the church, and has given and gives, *de facto*, if not in principle, much more value for merit and sanctification to the works accomplished in public through the ministry of the priest than to the intimacy of a personal faith which speaks only to the heart."

"The religious practices are for Italians a compromise, a kind of contract or bargain with God, of which the priest or the pope is the intermediary, the agent, the public official who has charge to give it legal form and sanction." Here we touch the very centre of the Romish system, the central spring which sets the whole organism in motion, and on which it rests. The words of Christ, "Abide in me," the papal church has applied to herself; the Roman Catholic is never called upon to abide with Christ, but in the church, and the church means the priest, good or bad, the bishop, the pope. "The secret of the power exercised by the church over the consciences," says B., "lies in this: never to leave, or almost never, the soul alone with God out of the presence and the guardianship of the spiritual director, the priest. Through his interposition between God and the penitent, by the pacifying influence of his word as adviser and judge in the doubtful cases of conscience, through his personal influence in the confessional, the anxiety of the Christian about the salvation

of his soul loses much of its intensity, of its influence on the inner life."

Yes, here is the fundamental error of the church of Rome, and nowhere, perhaps, are its deadly consequences more visible than in Italy. To ignore this renders it impossible to understand many things which seem to contradict flatly each other. How often have not Protestant travellers through Italy, endowed with a real capacity for observation, wondered at the little or almost no respect shown to the priests by the people, and often by the very people they had seen listening devoutly to the mass said by the very man they had scorned or laughed at. But Italians would marvel at the wonder! A notary may be an unworthy, immoral man, and yet the deed drawn up by him, according to the rule laid down by the law, has just as legal a value as the deed written by the most honest of all the public officials. So it is with the priest: what he does as priest has the same value, whatever he may be in his soul and conscience. Now, such being the case, who does not see at once that religion must, as a matter of course, become what we have seen and said, viz., something quite and thoroughly external which CAN HAVE NO INFLUENCE ON MAN, or at least not the sanctifying influence which one expects from the grand doctrines received in the heart? Proofs of the assertion, alas! are without number.

It is in Italy that has been coined the motto: *Santo in chiesa, diavolo in casa* (Saint in the church and devil at home). How could that saying ever have come into existence had it not been for the painful fact that the most devout at mass were too often unbearable beings out of it?

Few men of some learning, out of Italy, ignore the existence of the Camorra, the Mafia, the Malavita, secret associations of robbers and murderers. Well, a share of the gains procured through the means used by those gentlemen is religiously laid aside to pay priests to say masses. The brigands who gave so much trouble to the Italian troops from 1860 to 1865 kept fasting days and honored saints and madonnas. moreover, they often wore a piece of the holy wafer buried in a wound made with their knife under the thumb. Those houses about which to be silent is real gold—unless the voice were powerful enough to abolish them—have a lamp burning day and night before the image of the Madonna. He was born Roman Catholic, what-

ever his religiousness might be—that member of an International Congress held in Rome a few years ago who said: "It is proved that the belief in God has no influence whatever on the mind and heart of a criminal." But there is more: the case is not so rare of a Roman Catholic taking a candle to the Madonna's altar or paying for a mass in order to secure the *vendetta*. No wonder, then, if the criminal cases which amounted to three hundred and five thousand and sixty-three in 1883 had, in 1890, attained the frightful figure of four hundred and four thousand and fifty-three, nearly a hundred thousand more. In conclusion, the influence for good is null or amounts to very little. It is certainly not much superior to that exercised by the "fear of the gods" on the ancient Romans. And how could the influence be good, seeing that the basis is entirely wrong and in direct contradiction to God's word? "If you abide in me, you will bear much fruit; out of me you can do nothing." Surely He who spoke thus knew what man needed in order to live a saintly, fruitful life; he knew that daily intercourse between himself and man was not too much, nay, more than that, as close a union as the one between the trunk of the vine and its branches. Now, as we have said, such a union is not aimed at by the Romish Church, which, on the contrary, pretends that *between God and man there must be the priest*. It is a sad distortion of Jesus' words which leads devout people in Italy to say, "God *cannot* forgive if the priest does not first give the absolution." But one wrong step usually leads to another; the estrangement between God and man, the interception of the divine fluid by the interposition of another man led as a matter of logical consequence to consider God as a being to be afraid of, and even Christ as always angry, so that men needed advocates to plead for them; hence the Madonna and the saints. In vain did the apostle write: "If we have sinned, we have an advocate before the Father, Christ the just." The people never heard of these words, and consequently trusted the beings pointed out to them by those who ought to have known better, and these beings simply took the places of the gods their forefathers worshipped; the name is changed, the superstition and idolatry are the same, as Pastor Trede tried to prove in four volumes of a recent work of his—"Das Heidenthum in der Römischen Kirche." But there is more: whatever the official teaching may remain about

the Virgin Mary, practically she has taken the lead in heaven and on earth. The few may still say that she interceded before God for her devotees, but the immense majority expect the mercies from herself. Is she not the Queen of heaven, the Mother of God? Are not her shrines many and world-renowned? It is well known that the Virgin has one day of every month of the year consecrated to herself, and that the devout Roman Catholic who would, without scruple, work on a Sunday will abstain from every labor on those days. Moreover, she has a day per week and the whole month of May consecrated to her. In almost every town and village there are sisterhoods, composed for the most part of young girls, called the "Daughters of Mary," whose principal occupation is to sing the praises of Mary without once in the year mentioning her Son. In many churches and in the seminaries one can see the following inscription: "*Nulla gratia venit de cælo ad terram nisi transeat per manus Mariæ*" (No grace comes from heaven except through the hands of Mary). Even in the materialized shows intended to commemorate the death and resurrection of Christ, the thoughts of the people are turned towards Mary. I have read, with my own eyes, a bill posted on the doors of the three hundred churches of Rome on Good Friday, and signed by the Cardinal Bicarius, calling the good Romans to flock into the churches during the holy-days to pay *respect and devotions to Mary, who had suffered so much.* Of Christ not a word, not even on that occasion.

Of the many ways in which Italians commemorate the resurrection of our Lord, I wish to speak of one which confirms what I have said hitherto. In Girgenti and surrounding towns—for what reason I do not know—they commemorate the resurrection on Saturday instead of Sunday. At eleven A.M. the bishop goes to the cathedral to celebrate the mass, after which comes the singing of hymns. After the "Gloria" a great noise is heard proceeding from behind the great altar, whilst in front of it a preparation of powder and sulphur suddenly set on fire sends up frightening flames, and a wooden figure of Christ springs up with a red banner in his right hand. This is the signal. In a moment all the bells of the town are set in motion, and every citizen, wherever he happens to be, begins to shout and to make the greatest noise possible with guns, revolvers, clubs, stones, beating against doors, walls, anything near. And what are the words

shouted? "*Fuori il diavolo e dentio Maria!*"—Out with the devil, let Mary come in! Mary still, and always Mary.

I have taken some pains to ascertain the fact, and I give it as a fact, that an Italian, especially a southerner, never turns to God or Christ in his troubles, afflictions, or maladies, always to Mary or to the especial saint of his city or to the one he has selected as his special patron. "God," says a man who knows Sicily well, "is for the people the inexorable judge, always ready to punish; this man had his house burned because he neglected to go to mass, that other lost his crops because he did not take the holy wafer in the appointed time, and so on."

The saints—are they at least respected in Italy by those who so devoutly pray to them? One would say so after reading what precedes, and there is certainly a kind of respect, but how different from the feeling which would deserve that name in the conception of Protestants! When the Neapolitans cram the church in which the blood of S. Genaro is to boil, on the appointed day, they begin by praying to him, coaxing him literally with all kinds of endearing expressions; but when he tarries and the miracle is delayed, the coarsest vocabulary has not words enough for them and they heap upon him all kinds of insults. During the drought which visited the southern part of the kingdom last summer, the most ludicrous scenes happened in the towns and villages; in one place the image of the Virgin was locked up in a drawer and left there as a punishment until she should consent to grant the long-wished-for rain; in another, the saints were first carried through the town in a solemn procession and dressed with sumptuous garments, but when the sky continued blue and no rain came, the saints were taken to the public square, stripped of their gorgeous clothes, soundly thrashed with sticks and covered with rags. If that punishment were to remain without result, they were to be taken to the sea and dipped into it. In Palermo the patron saint was taken out of the church and laid down in the middle of a field, that she might experience what a sunstroke is, and then learn to sympathize more fully with her devotees!

If I were asked to characterize with two words the state of religion in Italy at the end of this century, I should say *gross superstition and growing infidelity*; these are the two mighty currents which sweep before them the vast majority of Italians. I

do not forget that there are sincere souls, even pious people, in their way, notwithstanding the medium in which they live, but these are the minority, a small minority whose influence is lost upon the great masses.

A very pertinent question at this stage would be this: *What is the clergy?* Surely the priests are not so ignorant and so superstitious as the people are said to be! An axiom of the Roman Catholic theology says, *Qualis sacerdos talis populus* (As the priest so is the people); and reversing it, *Qualis populus talis sacerdos*, which might be translated freely, By the instruction of the taught one may know the value of the teacher. In fact, it is impossible to escape from the horns of the dilemma: either the priests share the ignorance and superstition of the people, or they are above it. In the first case what can they do to lift the people up to a higher level? In the second case they must find their interest in allowing their people to vegetate in that unfortunate condition; and if their conscience has allowed them to do so for hundreds of years, what reason is there to hope that they will change in the future? The fact is that the largest portion of the priesthood in country places, especially in the south, are no better in any way than their parishioners. By far the greater proportion have risen from the lowest ranks of society and gone through seminaries that have not improved their social development, so that, as Bonghi says, "the seminarist comes out a plebeian, the instruction in the seminaries is poor, maimed, fruitless, without efficiency," consequently "nothing is poorer, more musty, than the preaching—no life in it—it looks like inlaid or checkered work made up with bits of the Bible and of the holy fathers not selected by the priests themselves, but found in the first dirty book which falls in their hands, and which they often do not understand well and cannot make other people understand; matter which has entered through the eyes and goes out through the mouth, leaving minds and hearts unmoved and incapable of any good work."

This judgment is severe, but worthy of serious consideration, coming, as it does, from a well-wisher to the pope, from a man who, by his "Life of Christ" and numberless writings, has done more than any living man in Italy to stir up his church and bring it to the standing and efficiency it ought to have.

I do not wish to appear as if I delighted in finding fault with

the Roman Catholic priests and took pleasure in unveiling their lives and repeating the stories that their own people tell of them. It seems to me that the religious condition of the people is quite sufficient to prove to any sensible man that they are quite unequal to the task of bringing about a better state of things, even if they knew of it. Their conscience, moulded by a Jesuitical education, must logically feel differently from what we, who take the gospel as rule, feel on most points; that a great many do not believe in what they teach is a sad fact, but, alas! it is too true; but even these one can hardly do otherwise than pity. There they are bound hands and feet, in the hands of their bishops, separated from their families, and constrained to keep within themselves all that which is not in perfect accordance with the teaching of their church. I need hardly say that there are exceptions, noble exceptions—men of learning and piety, God be thanked—but they are exceptions.

Is there any appearance of a reformation from within the Church of Rome? Would to God there were! Unfortunately, there is no sign of it. When the dogma of the infallibility of the pope was proclaimed it led to the formation of the Old Catholic Church in Germany and Switzerland. In Italy we had not a word of protest—the people looked on, laughed at the new dogma or submitted to it. The clergy was silent. A priest published, in 1890, a book in which, without touching the doctrines, he advocated some reformation of abuses; it fell to the ground unheeded by the very men who are the first to cry against them.

Leaving aside the great moral reason that the Church of Rome cannot reform itself, there is another to which attention is due, viz., that the clergy, headed by the pope and the Curia Romana, have their eyes riveted on the temporal power, in the restoration of which they believe and for which they work with all their might. Now it does not require a deep knowledge of the human heart to understand that, the attention being monopolized in that direction, there remains no room for serious consideration of the real religious needs of the people. *Yet there is no field more ready* for evangelization than Italy, no Roman Catholic nation whose circumstances would appeal so forcibly to the heart of the evangelical church at large and invite its members to a grand effort towards bringing the gospel to a nation of 30,000,000 souls.

A Frenchman, a Spaniard, a German, may be at the same time a good citizen and a devoted son of the Holy Father; an Italian *cannot—cannot.* Oh, if the Protestants had but realized this fact, it seems to me impossible that they would not have joined in the grand undertaking and improved the favorable circumstances. The question is so simple that a child can grasp it. The pope is the greatest enemy of united Italy, which he does not recognize as a kingdom, the overthrow of which he prays for. *An Italian must choose between his country and his religion centred in its head, the pope.* He cannot obey the latter and love the former, he *must* choose; and the choice has been made by many, by the grandest of our patriots—Garibaldi, Mazzini, and a host of the truest Italians; they have shaken off the yoke of popery, and making a sad confusion between Christianity and papacy, they have identified one with the other and thrown both overboard. Hence the appalling increase of infidelity which to-day enlists in its ranks the *élite* of our youth; and those who do not go that length are sentenced to an unhappy life. "We Italians," writes Prof. Gabba, "live in a perpetual struggle between the religious and the civil consciences; the struggle is more or less acute according to the more or less direct shocks between the state and the church, but it is always and everywhere the foundation of our national life." Where is the man capable of sympathizing with fellow-men who could listen unmoved to the sad statement of Prof. Gabba? Where is the follower of Christ who could, without a throb, hear another Italian exclaim, "A religious awakening in Italy must be relegated to the region of dreams, as long as things go on as they go now; the only thing left to the poor conscience of the Italian people is to recite the Miserere"? I do not believe in using exaggerations, not even to promote a good cause; consequently I do not say, Italians are crying out for the gospel, but their religious condition does, just as the religious conditions of the Chinese and the Hindoos elicit the sympathies of all Christians.

There is more, however, than the mere sad condition into which religion has fallen. We have the words of more than one leading man insisting as never before upon the necessity of a religion. The late Minister of Public Instruction said, not long ago: "If I write still a book, I shall write it to prove the necessity of a religion for us Italians, without which there cannot be

any hope for the future." Deamicis, the greatest of modern Italian litterateurs, points distinctly to the gospel as the means to leaven the mass. Bonghi, the Councillor of State, still more clearly exclaims: "Christ must live in us—he is living, he is not risen to die again. Since his appearance among men they have fallen times without number, but they have found in him, and nowhere else, the power to recover again." These voices, it is true, are still few, *clamantes in deserto*, but they seem to me to take the place of that other cry which did not pass unheeded, "Come over and help us."

There is an evangelization going on in Italy, some one will say; why do you speak as if there were none? Yes, there is, and I am coming to it. As I think of it my heart gladdens and saddens at the same time. Yes, I bless God from the bottom of my heart when I think that thousands and thousands of my fellow-countrymen now can hear the good tidings of God *loving them* and giving his Son for them. But I cannot help deploring the sad mistake by which the evangelizers have thrown such a stumbling-block in the way by presenting before the Roman Colossus seven denominations, represented, each of them, by a handful of people. Whatever may be the stimulating influence of many denominations in Great Britain and in the United States, it cannot be denied that it was not a wise step to take in the beginning of the work in Italy. I could quote numberless testimonies of well-wishers in my country, all of them deploring that there is not *one* evangelical church, however small, to stand before the one Roman Catholic Church. The members of the Evangelical Alliance which met in Florence in 1891 will remember the words of Prof. Mariano on the subject; they reflected the mind of all his fellow-countrymen, like him still outwardly members of the Roman Catholic Church, but at heart desirous to see an evangelical church taking deep root and growing strong in their country. Oh, if the Lord were pleased to impart in abundance his spirit of wisdom to enable men to see, and so much of his spirit of love that it would swallow up the denominational spirit! It is true that the Master has said, "The children of the world are wiser in their generation than the children of light;" but will it, must it always be so? There is progress everywhere else, in all the spheres; is it a folly to hope for some in the highest sphere?

I am anxious that no hasty and incorrect conclusion be drawn from what precedes, as if the evangelizers of Italy at present at work did quarrel and offend the Roman Catholics by their unfriendly behavior toward one another. If there has been any friction, almost unavoidable, at the beginning, it has ceased and the various denominations live in peace, meet often together for prayer, and carry on to a great extent, I may say, the principles of the Evangelical Alliance. But the union of various small denominations does not answer the Italian ideas of what a church ought to be, and we can hardly blame them if we take into due consideration the surrounding circumstances in which they have been brought up. Leaving that question aside, we can rejoice at the forward steps made by the work of evangelization. Thirty years ago, except Piedmont, which had enjoyed already twelve years of liberty under Victor Emmanuel, Italy was hermetically shut to the gospel. Now all the large cities and a good proportion of the minor towns and even of villages have one or more evangelical congregations or missionary stations, and more or less efficient testimony is rendered to the evangelical doctrines. A short statistical table will show, not how many have been gained during these last thirty years, but how many members composed the several denominations in the year 1892:

Waldensian Church Missions	4,737
Free Church	1,631
Wesleyans	1,341
Methodist Episcopal	965
Open and Close Communion Baptists	1,050
Independent Baptists	177
Reformed Catholic Church	230
Brethren	1,000
	11,131

If to these figures we add the 13,900 members of the Old Waldensian Church we have a total of 25,031 Italian-speaking Evangelicals, not yet a thousand for every million of Roman Catholics. But if we add the foreigners, English, American, Swiss, Germans, who ecclesiastically belong to Protestantism, we are not far from 60,000. If all these were living examples of

the power of Christ unto salvation, they would certainly be in sufficient numbers to act as a powerful leaven; but, alas! such is not the case. A few Protestants take an interest in the work of evangelization, but the great number ignore the work, and some even oppose it or turn the cold shoulder to the evangelists. Each denomination has at least a monthly or fortnightly paper, when it has not two, but these hardly go out of the narrow circle of the denomination. Three publications of the Florence Tract Society make an exception and reach a certain number of Roman Catholic readers; they are the *Italia Evangelica*, *l'Amico dei fanciulli*, and the *Amico di casa*, to which may be added the *Strenna dei fanciulli*, which, like the *Amico di casa*, is issued once a year. The British and Scotch Bible Societies are doing a good work through forty-five colporteurs, and the American Bible Society has scattered over two millions of copies of the Word of God, including portions. One would feel disposed to expect more visible fruits from such an enormous quantity of copies of God's Word spread among the people. Whilst we fondly hope that many of the fruits will be seen in the great day and not before, we cannot help drawing the conclusion that God has not yet changed his plan, and that along with the book he will use the living voice of man, "the foolishness of preaching," as Paul named it, to call men to the saving knowledge of the Redeemer.

I should not forget to mention the Young Men's Christian Associations, which, under the name of "Circoli" or "Societies," are increasing in number and usefulness, especially in Piedmont, where there are twenty-eight out of a total number of forty-five. We fondly hope that Mr. Stokes of New York, who has helped so generously the Y. M. C. A. of Paris, will see his way to help the Italians too, and furnish them with an efficient secretary, American style, to give the enterprise extension and consolidation.

Hitherto *the converts have been recruited mostly among the poor class*, as it seems to be the rule for all the work of missions and of evangelization everywhere; but the time is drawing near when the better classes will also be reached; quite a good sprinkling of them may be found already, especially in the missionary congregations of the Waldenses. Of course, the soul of a workingman when saved will be just as shining a star as that of a nobleman; but as long as we live on the planet, the influence for good or for

bad will descend from the higher to the lower classes, the reverse being seldom the case.

Souls have been, and are being, saved, thank God; that part of the work may be said to have been successful, so as not to cause any regret to those who have labored and to those who have helped with their prayers and their means.

The other part of the work is hardly begun—that part, I mean, which consists in gathering, in Italy at least, a strong minority of Evangelicals that will act as leaven, as salt, as light, and be to their country what the living Christians of Great Britain and America are to theirs; and when that is achieved, more will have been done towards *checking the ever-threatening papal power* than by any other work of evangelization. Does not this last consideration justify us when we look to our brethren of more favored lands for sympathy and help? They have done much already; we do not forget it; our gratitude is deep and sincere; but the enterprise is a grand one and needs continued and great efforts. The system which at this day would still keep enslaved the conscience of the most enlightened portion of the human race, had it not been for the blessed Reformation, is still a colossal power. To diminish that power, to counteract it, is to render a great service to mankind, and the best that can be rendered to the Roman Catholics themselves. If it were thought worth the expense in money and in blood to have a cruel war to free some millions of slaves from a bondage which, after all, left the mind and the soul free, how could one grudge some of that silver and gold for helping towards the freedom of God's children, the consciences and the souls of many millions of fellow-men? May God himself hasten the day when all his children, realizing the grandeur of their calling, will be his willing and devoted co-laborers in his mighty work!

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE NETHERLANDS.

By Col. Roosmale Nepveu of Doorn.

1. Since the last published report a very important change has taken place in the religious condition of the churches in our country.

Although even at that time a movement was going on in the bosom of the Netherlands Reformed Church to protest against the organization which was forced upon it by government in 1816, it was not until 1886 that an active opposition broke out which, emanating from a few Reformed clergymen, especially at Amsterdam, obtained a great extension and developed into a new church organization which, like the so-called Separatists or Christian Reformed (who seceded from the established church sixty years before), reassumed the confession and church regulations of Dordrecht as constituted in 1618–19. This movement led to a secession from the Netherlands Reformed (Established) Church, and the members of the new organization took the name of "Doleerenden" (from the Latin verb *doleo*, I mourn).

In 1891 an amalgamation of the two dissenting churches was agreed upon in principle under the name of Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerken (Netherdutch Reformed Churches).

It is exceedingly difficult for me as a Netherlander, and with the responsibility reposing upon me, to give a wholly impartial judgment in this matter, and I therefore propose, as far as this separation is concerned, to limit myself to the bare statement of facts.

A greatly to be regretted feature in this conflict is the circumstance that a great amount of passion and embitterment has been brought into the strife on both sides, and has been the cause of a lamentable alienation and discord even amongst believing Christians. On the other hand, however, it is not to be denied

that the zeal and the activity of both parties, the Netherlands Reformed Church as well as the Dutch Reformed Church, have very much increased since the separation.

Another favorable feature is the fact that the attendance at the churches where the gospel is preached according to God's Word has very much augmented, whilst those churches where the so-called modern theology is taught are almost deserted.

Enumerating the members of the different churches in round figures, the Netherlands Reformed (Established) Church may be said to count two million members, and the two dissenting churches combined about half a million.

A small section of the early Christian Reformed Church, counting about a dozen communities, have decided to remain independent.

The conflict raging in the churches unfortunately soon reached the domain of the Christian or free schools, which had for many years formed such an excellent ground of co-operation. As an instance of the unity existing before the separation, it may be mentioned that in 1878 a petition containing three hundred thousand signatures was forwarded to King William III. praying the sovereign not to sanction the apprehended scholastic law, which would banish the Bible from our public schools ; whilst another proof of the unpopularity of the bill is shown by the fact that since it passed into law the annual collection which it became necessary to hold for the sustenance of the private Christian schools, erected in hundreds throughout the country, for a long time gave a yield of about a hundred thousand guilders a year.

Still on other ground, however, did the discord become noticeable, especially in the Young Men's Christian Associations, where, next to the Netherlands Reformed Association, a Dutch Reformed Association was founded; a circumstance which tended greatly to weaken the co-operation, especially with regard to the holding of united prayer-meetings.

The peculiar Calvinistic spirit which is so strongly imprinted upon our national character, and which in times of great religious laxity has often preserved our nation from a general apostasy, notwithstanding its undeniable one-sidedness, cannot but be highly appreciated as a preserving salt, which has of late shown a renewed increase of vigor and development, and which may

indeed be called the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of Protestantism in the Netherlands.

2. It is pleasant to notice the fact that the elements which had become separated by the conflict of the churches were often reunited where practical works of Christian philanthropy demanded their co-operation. As an instance of this we may mention the forming of a society for the Christian treatment of lunatics and sufferers of nervous diseases, an institution which, with God's blessing, was so successful that it deserves to be specially mentioned. It was at Veldwijk that the pavilion system was first introduced, and since its foundation over 350 patients have been under Christian treatment there, and a second asylum of the same kind was opened in a different part of the country.

The extensive and greatly blest institution at Zetten founded by the late Rev. Mr. Heldring we presume to be well known. It is being carried on with much blessing by the Rev. Dr. Pierson, and a few details may be found of interest.

The institutions, which are four in number, are: first, Asyl Steenbeek, for fallen women; second, Talitha kumi, for neglected girls; third, Bethel, for girls (or young women) of riper age who are in danger of going astray; and, fourth, a Magdalene-home, where unmarried women may await their confinement, and where an opportunity is afforded them of regaining a respectable position in life.

The Orphanage of Mr. van 't Lindenhout, at Neerbosch, which now provides a home for 1100 orphans, still enjoys the general sympathy and support of all parties. Indeed this institution may be said to stand outside and above party division, and the particular blessing resting upon it is a great source of joy and gratitude to many.

It is there (at Neerbosch) that since two years greatly blest conferences have been held, where hundreds of believers have come together for the strengthening of brotherly love, the awakening of spiritual life, and the practical conferring on different topics of Christian interest. As one of the fruits of these conferences may be mentioned the forming of a society for the foundation of agricultural colonies for tramps and mendicants.

When in 1891 the delegates of Christian Young Men's Associations from all parts of the world, amongst whom there were many from the United States of America, held their triennial

conference at Amsterdam, which conference was very numerously attended and was very successful, one day was set apart to visit Mr. van 't Lindenhout's remarkable institution, the arrangements of which were greatly admired.

Much activity has been shown in Holland in the last few years in the fields of gospel work and Christian philanthropy.

Besides the already existing gospel societies,—to wit, the Netherlands Protestant Gospel Society, the Confessional Gospel Society, the Societies of North Brabant and Limburg, and several other local societies,—much has been done of late in the way of colportage work, societies for which were formed in the Northern Provinces, as well as in North Brabant and Limburg.

At Rotterdam there exists a society for gospel work amongst sailors, where the work is done by two evangelists.

Several new homes for deaconesses have been opened, and the number of deaconesses has increased.

There now also exists an opportunity for the training of male nurses, an undertaking which forms part of the institution at Heemstede (near Haarlem) for the treatment of epileptics.

A much-blest but difficult work is the Midnight Mission which was begun four or five years ago, in imitation of the work at Copenhagen, and has rapidly extended its field of operation, and produced good results; the outcome being that in nearly every town there now exists a society for the advancement of social purity.

The mission work in our colonies has been extended and of late years the missionary spirit has shown an increase of life and vigor. Twenty-five years ago the Rotterdam Missionary Society, was the only one in existence; the spirit of unbelief, however, had gradually worked its way into this society, with the result that part of the orthodox ministers and many lay members of the community gave up their membership and constituted themselves into three new bodies, to wit, the Rotterdam Missionary Society, the Utrecht Mission Association, and the Reformed Missionary Society.

A few years later a new society was formed at Amsterdam called the Java Committee. This society has been the means by which the seminary at Depok was founded; this institution, where natives are trained to become preachers of the gospel, has already been productive of good results.

All these new societies have worked with great blessing. The number of European missionaries they employ amounts to ninety-six. The number of baptized heathens which have joined the membership of different Christian communities amounts to over three hundred thousand.

The receipts of these societies for the last year amounted to fl. 284,000 (two hundred and eighty-four thousand guilders or florins).

Besides this work there are many smaller societies which support the missionary work or send out missionaries. Amongst these may be mentioned the Ermelo Missionary Society, an institution of the late Rev. Mr. Witteveen; the Committee for the Salatiga Mission, which supports four missionaries in Central Java; the Dutch Committee for the Rhenish Mission on the islands of Sumatra and Borneo, which brings together fl. 20,000 a year to support the missionaries which the German institution at Barmen sends out to our East Indian colonies. This work has been attended with great blessing. More than twenty thousand Battacks (natives of those islands) have embraced Christianity, and on the whole it may be said that these new converts exhibit a very decided and vigorous Christian life.

The committee for the mission in Egypt, which supports two missionaries in the Lower Nile and which has a station at Calioub, is doing good work.

Besides these there is a committee which supports Dr. Otte, who was sent out to China by the Dutch Reformed Church in America and whose field of labor is at Amoy.

The mission amongst the Jews supports two missionaries. The work is attended with much difficulty; still every year there are a few Israelites who receive baptism (this year there were fourteen). Their organ, *The Hope of Israel*, a monthly periodical, counts about three thousand subscribers.

The Moravian Brethren (or, as they are often called, Herrnhuters, from the village in Saxony they hail from) are making preparations to celebrate the centennial jubilee of their first settlement in Holland, at Zeist, a large village in the centre of the country.

As a mission church, standing outside the parties and remaining faithful to its calling, the Moravians are greatly esteemed and loved by all. It must be owned, however, that, whilst their

mission work amongst the heathen is extending, their community in our country is fast diminishing, and does not reveal the same power and vitality it showed in former years. In our South American colony Surinam, on the other hand, they have a richly blest and extensive field of labor amongst the numerous negro population, as well at the capital, Paramaribo, as amongst the so-called Buschniggers. It may be said that almost all the Christian work in that colony is done by the Moravian Brethren. Their native communities in Surinam amount to more than twenty thousand members.

The revival of the spirit of missionary enterprise has been partly due to the national mission festivals which are held in the open air (something after the way of the American camp-meetings) and which for the last thirty years have been held annually in two or three different parts of the country. These meetings are generally attended by at least twenty thousand people.

Besides the increase in the number of missionaries and the fact that thirty or forty native auxiliary missionaries from the seminary at Depok are every year added to the army of workers in the mission field, the appointment of several believing ministers to different posts in our East Indian colonies has also brought new life in the gospel work amongst the European settlers.

Another new movement originating from various quarters is the gospel work amongst our troops in India, a work for which the need has been long felt.

Temperance work, for which the necessity in view of the terrible amount of drunkenness in Holland had long existed, had for a considerable time been in a languishing condition, but of late years the number of total abstainers has greatly increased.

The Rev. Mr. van Scheltema, for many years a clergyman of the Established Church and now in his seventy-eighth year, may be called the pioneer of the total-abstinence movement in our country. Although temperance societies and societies for the abolishment of liquor-drinking had been in existence for some time, it was Mr. van Scheltema who first raised his voice in favor of the abolishment of all alcoholic drinks without exception; and though at the outset he had to contend with much opposition, he is now, at last, allowed to see some rich fruits of his persevering endeavors. Still total abstinence is only in its infancy in our country, and the general opinion even of believing

Christians is, on the whole, still strongly opposed to it. The distribution of temperance and total-abstinence papers and tracts has very much increased of late. A weekly paper appears entitled *De Wereldstrijd* (The World Struggle or Conflict).

Another richly blest work, which was first started by the above-named Rev. Mr. van Scheltema, is the King William's Home, an extensive gospel work in one of the most densely populated quarters of our capital. This consists of gospel work proper, schools, including infant and Sunday-schools, ministering to the poor, a soup-kitchen, a juvenile church, Young Men's, Young Women's, and Boys' Christian Associations, a total-abstinence society, etc. The quarter of Amsterdam in which this home is situated has undergone quite a transformation through its influence, and at this present time the population of this district may be called a pattern of order, temperance, religiousness, loyalty to the royal house, and obedience to the authorities.

3. Christian liberty. A great measure of Christian liberty is enjoyed in our country. Every Christian institution is allowed to organize and develop itself freely.

A new scholastic law has put an end to the injustice that the private schools for religious instruction suffered from the side of the government, instead of being assisted by it.

The existence of these schools has now become possible, as they are on certain conditions being subsidized by the state; the government, by so doing, at the same time acknowledging the usefulness of these schools for the state.

It is not to be denied, however, that the great emulation which existed in the years of difficulty, when, by the munificence of believers, hundreds of Christian schools were erected, has very much diminished since the state has begun to subsidize these schools; whilst at the same time mutual strife has divided the sources of contribution and cooled the hearts of the givers.

The Sunday-schools have received a great extension in Holland, and many children of totally indifferent or unbelieving parents frequent decided Christian Sunday-schools. It is evident that a great blessing attends this branch of Christian endeavor.

A great deal of attention has of late years been given to sacred singing. Throughout the country there are in existence more

than two hundred Christian choral associations; and not only in the quantity but also in the quality of these societies has there been a great progress.

Whilst Holland owes a great debt of gratitude to the British and Foreign Bible Society, which for many years labored with great liberality and earnestness at the distribution of the Scriptures in our country, but has now left us, the Netherlands Bible Society has in the last few years very much extended its field of labor, as well by distribution as by the translation of the Scriptures in different Indian dialects, for the use of the natives of our East Indian colonies.

Next to the distribution of tracts, of which hundreds of thousands are being annually distributed by various societies and private persons, a new branch of distribution of religious literature has sprung up by the publishing of religious calendars, of which over a hundred thousand are annually sold.

Our religious periodicals and papers number over forty thousand subscribers. Of these nearly twenty thousand are printed by the orphanage printing-press at Neerbosch.

The scientific and the higher classes in Holland, that is, those who through their position are enabled to exercise power and authority, are still for the greatest part liberals, as far as religion is concerned. Positive Christianity is chiefly found amongst the small tradespeople, the working classes, and the peasantry.

Very few of the professors at our universities take a decided Christian stand, and it may be greatly feared that at our preparatory colleges decidedly Christian teachers form only a very small minority.

In consequence of a very deficient Sunday law in our country there are still many situations which are barred to conscientious Christians, on account of their requiring attendance on Sundays.

The Free University on Reformed principles, at Amsterdam, still fails to win the general sympathy of the Christians of denominations outside the newly-formed section of the Dutch Reformed Church, because the rules make it imperative to all who wish to become members that they should subscribe to the three formulas of unity, according to the regulation of the Synod of Dordrecht. The degrees accorded by the Free University are at present not recognized by the government.

At Amsterdam a gymnasium, or preparatory college, has also been opened in connection with the Free University.

The theological college of the Christian Reformed Church at Kampen is in a flourishing condition, and the ministers who have received their instruction at that institution work with much blessing among their congregations.

For the last twenty years the Rev. Mr. van Dijk has had an institution for the training of young men to the orthodox ministry in the Established Church. He has succeeded, with God's blessing, in creating various institutes where Christian young men who have no means to provide for their studies are lodged, and in providing the means for their continuing their studies at the universities. The number of clergymen who have through this channel entered the ministry amounts to over a hundred.

4. We consider that the above details will suffice to give a general idea of the state of the churches in Holland.

The sociological problems, however, are becoming in Holland, as elsewhere, a rapidly-growing source of serious anxiety, and it appears to us that too much liberty has been allowed to those who openly, by word and by writings, have preached revolt against the powers in authority. The party whose aim it is to free themselves from all legal restraint, and who have taken for their motto "Ni Dieu ni maître" (Neither God nor master), and who in this country call themselves Social-Democrats, have found a fruitful soil in the spirit of the times, as well as in the general condition of the working classes.

The fine-sounding theories promising an era of peace and happiness if private property were differently regulated (or even abolished altogether) were eagerly grasped at by those who for low or very moderate wages are often obliged to do an immoderate amount of work, and still more by those who through lack of work suffer the pinches of poverty. More than once, already, have the incendiary speeches of the leaders led to scenes of riot and disorder, to quell which it has been found necessary to call in the aid of the military and the police.

In this respect it may be said that in Holland, as elsewhere, the prospects are dark. That much, however, of the distress and poverty suffered by the lower classes of our population was brought about by themselves is proved by the sad fact that it was chiefly from their midst that in the year 1892 more than eighty

millions of guilders (equivalent to thirty-two million dollars) was spent in spirits.

Much is being done, however, to improve as far as possible the social conditions, to provide work, to give assistance, etc. Amongst others laboring with true devotion for the interests of the laboring classes may be mentioned a workman's union called Patrimonium, which publishes its own newspaper under the same title, and a master's association of Christian workmen, called Boaz.

A Christian social congress, from which the association Boaz emanated, was held at Amsterdam in 1892, and is soon to be followed by a second.

It cannot be denied, however, that, notwithstanding an increase of activity in Christian and philanthropic work, there is noticeable in our country a spirit of depression which gives rise to anxiety.

The deplorable discord amongst the churches, which threatens to be carried into politics, often prevents believing Christians from coming forward with decision.

The glorious times of the revival and of a true Evangelical Alliance are things of the past as far as Holland is concerned, and the future is not encouraging in many respects.

The International Conference of the Evangelical Alliance at Amsterdam in 1867 was a blessing to many, but did not leave those general and abiding results which many had anticipated and hoped for.

May the Lord yet give us a powerful awakening by his holy Spirit, and may these great conferences of believers at Chicago help to promote and to increase the brotherly fellowship of Christians of all countries, including Holland, in order that, contemplating the earnestness of the times before us, the church of Christ may fulfil her calling of being the salt of the earth, and may we all be found prepared for the coming of our Lord and Saviour, which may be very near!

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF SCANDINAVIA.

By Rev. M. Falk Gjertsen of Minneapolis.

The nations may be said to possess souls. A nation's soul is its nationality or national character. It is different from the soul of the individual in that it is not born simultaneously with the nation, but formed and developed through generations of common life, labor, and intercourse. It does not die with the nation. The nation, as such, may pass out of existence, but the spirit and the results of a strong nationality, as, for example, the Greek or Roman, pass over into the possession of the world and its history and stamp indelible impressions on it. In the development of national character there is no agency more potent than that of religion. It determines the moral worth and strength of the people. A nation may be numerically and territorially weak and yet be nationally strong and produce positive results that become a blessing to the world. The northern nations commonly called Scandinavians have at different epochs of the world's history exerted a marked influence upon its development. The vikings of old roamed over the seas and infused their courage and love of liberty into the nations where they settled. At the most critical time in the history of Europe it was Swedish piety and Swedish steel, under the leadership of Gustavus Adolphus, that hewed a way for Protestantism and human liberty, and to-day from the northern horizon of those far-distant countries comes flashing across the sea, like bright northern lights, the most faithful and intense Protestantism with pious hearts, strong arms, and willing hands for its work and defence. The established church in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark is the Lutheran. Its ministers are appointed by the government, and the general affairs of the church are under its management. The great religious revivals and movements have been inside the established church. It is only of late years that other denominations have established them-

selves in those countries. The rationalistic tendencies of speculative theology, led by the philosophy of Hegel and his followers, came like a blighting wind sweeping from Germany over the church of the north. The clergy and the theologians became secret and open rationalists, substituting reason for revelation and looking upon devotional piety as a weakness and a disease. But in all three countries a mighty awakening has taken place, and so powerful has been its moral influence that rationalism has had to pack up its household effects and leave the church, and the revealed word of God contained in the Bible has been given its proper place as the infallible rule of faith and life.

This great revival took place almost simultaneously in Norway and Denmark.

NORWAY,

the last and the least amongst earth's civilized nations, had changed from Romanism to Protestantism in a peculiar manner. Protestantism did not supplant Romanism through the convictions and free choice of the people, but through a royal mandate from Copenhagen, Norway being a province under Denmark. In Denmark the clergy and the people embraced with eagerness the Lutheran doctrine with its liberation from the papal yoke. In far-distant Norway they knew almost nothing of Lutheranism until a law was proclaimed in all the churches that the national religion was changed from Roman Catholic to Lutheran. One Sunday there is Catholic and the next Sunday there must be Lutheran worship in all the churches. But the religion of a people is not a thing that can be put off or on like a coat, and the consequence was that Catholic ideas and prejudices lived amongst the people for several generations, until Bishop Eric Pontoppidan inoculated Lutheranism into the people by beginning with the children in his admirable work, "The Explanation of Luther's Catechism," a book that was adopted throughout the whole land in the schools, and studied and committed to memory in childhood by the whole nation. The body of the Lutheran doctrine having thus become the property of the religious convictions of the people, the spirit of God breathed upon it and gave it a beautiful, wonderful, and powerful life through the religious revival by Hans Nilsen Hange, a common farmer, who at the age of 25 years commenced to

exhort the people to repentance, faith in Christ, and a godly life. He commenced his work in 1786. The earnestness of his exhortations brought the ill-will of the worldly-minded upon him, and his success as a preacher excited the bitter jealousies of the rationalistic clergy, and these elements, taking advantage of a law against conventicles, had him thrown into prison for no other offence than preaching the gospel of Christ. He languished in his miserable prison-hole for seven long years and lost his health. During the war with Denmark the English fleet prevented all importation from abroad. The whole country was suffering from the want of salt, and there was apparently not a man in Norway who knew how to manufacture salt except Hans Nilsen Hange, who, besides being a devoted Christian, also was a most practical man with wonderful talents. The government took him out of prison. He established several salt factories, saved the country from terrible suffering, and when the work was completed they put him back again in chains. When liberated, in 1811, he was an invalid, and during the last thirteen years of his life he had to confine his work to receiving friends, giving advice, and thus leading the movement that now was being taken up and carried on by others. It spread with wonderful rapidity, changing the character of whole communities; became national; broke through all persecution and opposition; led to the establishment of Norway's Society for Foreign Missions, an institution inside the established church and still entirely independent of it, representative and self-governing in its character, one of the most successful missionary societies of this age, having on the Island of Madagascar 36 missionaries, with 1100 native preachers and teachers trained in the society's theological seminary at Antananarivo, more than 10,000 communicants in the church, 30,000 children in the schools, hospital for the lepers, asylums for orphans, neglected children, and liberated slave children. Besides Madagascar a great work is being done in Zululand, approaching in importance the Madagascar work. Amongst the missionaries are four young Scandinavian-Americans, graduates of Augsburg Seminary in Minneapolis. Next, the Hange revival reached the University, captured two professorships, caught the theological students, and sent out into the parishes a host of young ministers totally different from the old stock, servants of God who placed themselves side by side with the

preaching laymen for the conversion of men. Coming simultaneously with the political regeneration of the country (Norway being established as a separate monarchy, with its own constitution and house of representatives, in 1814), it exerted remarkable influence politically. In selecting their representatives for the Storthing the people found its truest and stanchest friends amongst the adherents of this movement. They became leaders of the liberal party, and hold the balance of power in Norway to-day. A United States senator, having travelled through Norway, made the statement that he had never seen a people where the law of the land was held in such respect and obeyed so loyally, and this fact is a direct consequence of this remarkable revival. It began away down in obscurity amongst the farmers, pressed itself gradually forward and upward, reached the university and the government, spread to both sides of the Atlantic Ocean and to far-off heathen lands.

DENMARK

experienced the same revival. The so-called "Hanges Friends" made regular trips to Denmark and found brethren there. Seder Larsen Dous, also a common farmer, became the leader of the movement there. It bore a permanent fruit in the so-called Inner Mission Society, which society sprung from this revival. Its work has been and is to-day being greatly blessed; a great many of the clergy have been influenced by it and belong to it, and some of them are the most powerful preachers in the land. In Denmark this movement from below was met by a remarkable movement from above, and the two became in many respects co-workers although not assimilating. This movement had for its originator and leader Bishop Nicolai Fredrik Severin Grundtvig, a man of true and sincere piety, of great personal influence, a happy combination of courage and kindness, with the strength of a giant and a heart as warm and soft as a child's—a true northern skald in his wonderful poetry. A man of singular power, and preaching a living faith in Christ, he soon found a host of followers, both amongst the clergy and the people. He was a sworn foe of rationalism and the old so-called classical culture. He declared war upon the college or "Latin School," as it is called in Scandinavia, in so far as it rests upon Greek and Roman classics. The school should put us in touch with life and the living, not with the grave and the

dead,—an idea that seems to have considerable life in it at the present time; witness the educational exhibits at the World's Fair. It is the handwriting on the wall dooming old systems, prophesying and making way for a new education, the Kindergarten, the Sloyd, industrial training for boys and girls, an education for practical life. The idea of Grundtvig led to the establishment of the so-called "People's High Schools," "Folkehoiskoler"—an institution that hardly can be found outside the Scandinavian countries; the nearest to it is perhaps the so-called University Extension Course here in America. In these schools the instruction was given more through lectures than by books, the tendency being to look upon the text in the books as a dead letter, while the oral lecture was a "living word." The lectures were given in the interest of religion, patriotism, and love of liberty. Grundtvig's influence extended to the whole north, although it never became so prominent in Sweden as in Norway. These schools exerted a marked influence upon the youth amongst the middle classes, and many of the liberal representatives have received the training for their political life in these schools. In 1825 Bishop Grundtvig made what he calls his "matchless discovery" in theology, which discovery his followers made the "Shibboleth" of the whole movement. It is in Grundtvig's own words thus: "That the words from the Master's life in his own ordinances, and especially the confession of the whole Christian church in baptism, the so-called Apostolic Confession, is exclusively the only living and adequate testimony by which the Christian faith and the spirit of Christ can be propagated and imparted."

These two tendencies in Denmark, that of the "Inner Mission" movement and the Grundtvig movement, led to the establishment of independent churches, the so-called elective churches (Valgmeingheder). They refuse to receive their pastors by selection and appointment of the government, they choosing their own pastors. In their influence upon the people the "Inner Mission" movement has confined itself to the religious work, while the Grundtvig element has not hesitated to put educational and political issues on its programme.

It would hardly be proper to leave the consideration of the religious condition of Denmark without mentioning a name that is well known to the English-speaking theological world—that of Bishop Martenson, author of the well-known works on dog-

matics and ethics. His influence did not go much beyond the University. He is the representative in Denmark of the German speculative theology, which exerted itself to harmonize faith and science, the subjective and objective, the absolute and relative. Upon the people at large it had no direct influence. Denmark is especially rich in sacred poetry and hymns. The three bishops, Kingo, Brorson, and Grundtvig, have written collections of hymns that for religious fervor, depth, and beauty can hardly be surpassed and which will live as long as the Danish tongue is spoken on earth. The Danish church has missions among the Bengals and the Santals in India. In the Santal mission the church in Norway takes part. The fathers of this mission are Skrefsurd, a Norwegian, and Borresens, a Dane, and the "mother in Israel" amongst them is Borresens' noble wife. They are in a fair way of Christianizing the whole Santalistan. Skrefsurd is at present engaged in giving the people the Bible in their own language. He has already given them their dictionary and grammar.

SWEDEN.

During the first part of the present century a movement similar to that in Denmark and Norway took place in Sweden also. The most prominent promoters of this revival were not laymen, but zealous and devoted pastors. Sweden is the home of oratory and song, and some of the most powerful pulpit orators belong to this period. Jacob Otto Hoof and Laes Linderoth were thunderers in the pulpit, and made their large audiences tremble under their denunciation of sin, their terrible proclamation of hell and damnation for the ungodly, and their loud trumpet-calls to repentance. It is claimed that the law was more prominent in their testimony than the gospel, and that the character and effect of their work partook more of fear than of faith and love, producing a dark, ascetic, and harsh Christianity. A reaction came. An Englishman by the name of Scott, who had come to Sweden, a Methodist, found a young, pious theologian, C. O. Rosenius, and the two worked together for some time. Rosenius was born in 1816, and commenced working with Scott in 1840. The two parted, and Rosenius, who never left the Lutheran Church or its doctrine, commenced the publication of a religious periodical called *Pietisten*—The Pietist. Rosenius was not an

orator, and was therefore not much given to preaching; he worked mostly through his paper and his books. He has had a remarkable influence upon the church in Sweden. The material principle of the Lutheran reformation, justification through faith alone (faith alone emphasized), has never had a better and more devoted exponent. The love of God in Christ Jesus, the free grace of God, shone through all his testimony with a light and a warmth that melted hearts of stone, made lambs of lions, and called the lost back by the way of the cross to a loving and waiting father's arms; and the man himself was a living illustration of his works. In his writings a disciple of the apostle Paul, in all his life and character an image of the apostle John. He was truly a witness of Christ to his people. His papers and his writings were spread over the whole country; they were read in huts and in palaces, on land and sea, and their power of love and grace was almost irresistible. There was the true "balm of Gilead" in them. His "Secrets in the Law and the Gospel," his explanation of the epistle to the Romans, reveal a mind wholly given to an unceasing contemplation of Christ's love to sinners. A mighty revival of true evangelical Christianity swept from one end of Sweden to the other. It swept across the border over into Norway in the seventies, and brought with it more of childlike faith and gladness than the earlier revival. After the death of Rosenius the evangelical movement was divided into two streams. P. P. Waldenstrom became the successor of Rosenius as editor of *Pietisten* and as the recognized leader of the great cause. He holds peculiar views in regard to the atonement. While believing in the divinity of Christ, he does not hold to the commonly-accepted doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. Christ died to prove to the world how God loved sinners, but his death is not the meritorious cause of God's reconciliation with sinners. The followers of Rosenius had not formed distinct groups. His testimony leavened the whole church, and his influence in it is predominant to-day. It is felt in the preaching in the pulpits, in the religious press, and in the whole life of the Swedish Lutheran church. When Waldenstrom took the leadership, his friends formed distinct groups though without leaving the established church. This semi-sepation manifested itself first in the so-called communion societies, "Wadoer foreninger," where Waldenstrom's adherents, also

called "Mission Friends," would receive the Lord's Supper, not in the churches, where the ungodly mixed with the godly, but in private houses, without the services of a regular minister. This revival in Sweden has not had any distinct influence on the political life of the nation. Swedish character seems to be liberal in religion and conservative in politics. The movement has, however, had a very noticeable influence in the direction of temperance. Very much less liquor is drunk in Sweden now than before the revival.

In speaking of the religious life of Scandinavia we must not forget that a goodly portion of Scandinavia and its religious life is now here in the United States. Here as in Europe Scandinavians have selected the northern latitudes. There is a belt of land across the United States from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean which is being rapidly settled by them and their children. The States of Wisconsin, Minnesota, the two Dakotas, the northern parts of Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, the new states of Montana, Oregon, and Washington, are the American home of the Scandinavian race—a sturdy, industrious race, a home-building, church-building, school-building race. It was the Swedes who in Europe formed the bulwark against the progress of Romanism when it tried to retake by the sword what it had lost through the preaching of the gospel. It is claimed that the Roman church is exerting itself to regain in America what she is losing in Europe and get the controlling power in the United States. If so, you will find the Scandinavian race arrayed in a solid phalanx against any unlawful and unamerican encroachment upon the rights of Protestantism and the liberty of conscience. And who knows but that in such case it may come to pass that the Scandinavian race shall win the day of battle for Protestantism in America as it did in Europe?

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF SWITZERLAND.

By Prof. Edouard Naville of Geneva.

It is not easy to give a summary of the religious condition of a country like Switzerland. Things in religion are somewhat like those in nature. Every traveller who passes through our beautiful land is struck at once with the infinitely varied aspect of the regions through which he passes. A few hours of travel suffice to show the cold and monotonous valleys of the Jura, the fertile and well-cultivated fields of the Swiss plateau, the picturesque borders of the Lake of the Four Cantons, the bleak and majestic solitudes of the Alps, and their laughing slopes which look down upon Italy. In this rapid transit he will hear at least three different tongues. Everywhere he will be able to observe particular customs, traditions which tend, it is true, to become effaced, but which are the heritage of a different past, the result of belief the opposition to which has more than once plunged the Confederation into a civil war. Here are the Valois, an industrial and commercial race, who send beyond the seas the product of their labors, and who have made for themselves a place among heathen nations by their powerful Society of Missions. Further, one sees the agricultural Bernese, the traditional Protestant, the hereditary enemy of Catholicism, and by his side the shepherd of Lucerne or of Uri, whose son may to-day be clothed in a uniform of the middle ages and mount guard at the foot of the staircase of the Vatican.

And without leaving Protestant cantons it is impossible not to be struck with differences as to point of view, differences bearing upon facts of great importance and that may be traced back to the times of the reformers. Without doubt since their epoch ideas have made a great advance, and if Zwingle and Calvin should return to life they would scarcely recognize their own work. It is not less true that there are certain divergencies the

origin of which it is necessary to seek among men who have borne the light of the gospel to the bosom of the darkness of Rome. The impress which Calvin had made upon the church of Geneva is to-day much weakened; but however feeble it now is, it is not that which Zwingle had given to the church of Zurich, or Decolampade to that of Bâsle. Add to this that the language is not the same, that each one of the Protestant cantons has a history entirely different from that of his immediate neighbor, and it will be easily seen that even in religious things the variety may be so great that, to make it clear, it is not one report alone, but eight or ten that I should here present. And I beg my readers to remember one circumstance which renders my task much more difficult. The one who writes these pages is a layman and not a theologian. There may be, therefore, here and there a judgment which may surprise my brethren who work in the career of the evangelical ministry and who have a closer view of things.

In a country where national churches exist it is difficult to speak of the religious condition of things without saying a word as to the political situation. In this respect, however well one may think and speak of our institutions in a secular view, our judgment would be very different from a religious platform. It is certain that democratic institutions, as they are established in our country, bear a marked character of opposition to religion. Radicalism, which rules all these institutions, is very hostile to them. Each step that it has made forward has contributed to efface from our institutions everything that might give them a religious coloring, and each of its triumphs has diminished the place assigned to religion in the external life of the nation. It is true that many noble minds have hailed with joy the complete separation between the religious and the civil domain. But is there not exaggeration in a principle which in itself may be very just? Let us render to Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and to God the things that belong to God. Such is the law that should rule the life of nations as well as of individuals, and we do not dream of contesting its sovereign wisdom. But let not Cæsar forget that he himself should obey the law of God. Let him not proclaim aloud, and let him not teach our children, that there is no God.

If one enters one of the socialistic reunions which multiply in our country, he will see that one of the essential articles of social-

ism is the destruction of religion, which is called the hypocrisy of the middle classes and an instrument destined to serve the oppression of the people by the higher classes. It is not alone in large congresses that one hears these pernicious doctrines, but in many Swiss towns, Berne for example. Atheism is preached without reserve, and it is so much more dangerous, as it often assumes a humanitarian and philanthropic form which attracts the humble people. One may ask if this hostility against religion is not partly a reaction against ecclesiastical tyranny during the time that the church governed the state. And it is unhappily true that in this respect the church is not without reproach, even in cantons where has spread the light of reform, and where the church should have recalled the words, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

Impatience of all authority, the right of revolt against every yoke, reaches even resistance to God himself. One cannot deny that the greater part of the laws that touch education or the social state are arranged with a view to accustom future generations to do without religion.

A great step in this direction was made by the constitution of 1874, that centralized Switzerland much more than it had been until that time. This constitution has had nearly twenty years' existence, a generation has arisen since its promulgation, and we can now judge of its fruits. Let us recognize that it begins with these words, "In the name of the all-powerful God," and that the principles that the authors have proclaimed are liberty of belief, full and entire neutrality of the state in matters of religion. We could only approve of this principle, and even rejoice in it, above all in a mixed state like Switzerland, if one had loyally conformed to it, and if the words had preserved their sense. But in fact it is proscription that exists, and not liberty or neutrality. The state has banished God from the schools, from civil institutions such as marriage, and even, in certain cantons, from the church.

One has often called the pearl of our constitution the article twenty-seven, which establishes the obligation of primary instruction, and whose second paragraph is thus expressed: "public schools may be attended by the adherents of all religions, without suffering in any manner in their liberty of conscience or of belief." In reality, however, this protection is only exercised in favor of unbelief.

God has been banished from the schools because his holy name offended the conviction of unbelievers, and children whose religious sense is still active are injured every day by that which the atheist calls his liberty. The cantons of Vaud and Neuchatel have not yet admitted this interpretation of the law, which has been elsewhere applied as at Zurich.

One will say, and it is an idea which finds favor in many minds, that the state should not occupy itself with the religious domain, which should be the duty of the family and of the church; but nothing could be more dangerous than such a doctrine. To the pastor, do you say, to the father and mother, is given the duty of leading their children to God? But if for the teacher whom the child hears every day the law does not exist, what influence will such an atmosphere have upon the child, if not impiety or at least absolute indifference to religious things? And if, as in the case of a large number of families, the parents do not give religious instruction, how can he but mature with an absolute ignorance of religious things?

The school without the gospel is certainly one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of the truth in Switzerland to-day. It is true, thanks to God, that there are a certain number of all degrees, primary, middle, or normal schools, that are under a religious influence, and that are a living witness to the gospel. Nowhere, however, are they favorably viewed by the state, above all in the German cantons. Without doubt Christians have not remained indifferent to this state of things, and they have endeavored to counteract it by a great development in the Sunday-schools. Here attacks coming from the arch-enemy have not been wanting. Incredulous pastors see an obstacle to the propagation of their own doctrines; and as to school authorities, one has an example of their sentiments by what has just taken place in the canton of Berne, where the school commission has decided, first, that the buildings of primary schools will in future be refused to Sunday-schools; second, parents, members of the parish, are urged not to send their children to the Sunday-school, as it compromises the authority of the teachers of the week-day school, hinders its discipline, and is, in a general manner, carried on in a pietistic spirit.

We cannot be too grateful for what the Sunday-schools have already done, but how gladly would we see Christians filled with

the necessity of founding free day schools where the teaching would be evangelical! We would also see multiplied normal schools, like those of Pesaur and of Muristalden, and also associations of Christian teachers, like those of Basle, who by their example as well as by their words teach the children to remember their Creator in the days of their youth.

One of the preoccupations of our legislators has been to facilitate marriage in an excessive degree, and to efface all trace of the Catholic idea that makes it a sacrament. It is true, however, that the force of custom has remained stronger than that of law. In the majority of cases, especially in country districts, civil marriage has not dethroned the religious ceremony, and the latter has a great hold upon the people. But in the cities there are too many marriages celebrated with no religious form, and whose rupture is no more culpable than that of any other contract having a mutual interest and convenience. Divorce thus becomes easy, and it is lamentable that it is much more frequent in Protestant than in Catholic cantons. The former now have a proportion of four in every thousand marriages, while in certain Catholic cantons, as Lucerne, Unterwald, Uri, there is almost no divorce.

The anti-religious tendency of the state is more openly shown in its connection with the church. Although all national Swiss churches preserve the principle that no pastor should be bound by any dogmatic formula, and by no text or book implying his adhesion to a confession of faith, and while in the cantons of Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchatel the state does not attempt to interfere in questions of the interior order of the church, yet at Zurich and Berne they would be deferred to the secular power. The Grand Council immediately selects itself a judge, and, if there is a litigation, decides the matter contrary to all evangelical principles. One of the questions, for example, which of late years has been a cause of conflict, has been that of baptism. Has the national pastor the right to refuse confirmation to one who has not been baptized? Certainly no question may belong more exclusively to the judgment of the church. But it has been decided in the Grand Council of Zurich that, the pastor being a servant of the state, refusal of confirmation would be a civil injury, and that the conscience of the pastor should not enter into account.

It would seem that the state, for which religion does not seem to exist, endeavors to accustom man to do without it. In Geneva it has restricted the church to very narrow limits and has forbidden it to impose any dogmatic obligation upon its pastors. But in German cantons the state uses the church as an instrument that may be useful to it. It is sad to believe that a large number of German Swiss pulpits are the voices that spread in the midst of Protestant populations not alone a rationalism having preserved a varnish of piety and religion, but even an atheism which nearly always is allied to extreme radical opinions. Let us listen to the definition of the church by that portion of German Switzerland which is called Reformist. "The liberal Protestant church does not possess any ancient dogmatic formula; she does not prescribe to its adherents a profession of any determined faith; she does not even ask them to think of God as a person, and she considers the deification of Christ as an error, for Christ himself has never assumed it; she gives to her adherents no assurance of surviving after death." And yet she preserves the name of God, and by the sentiment of depending upon God, she hopes to found a reign of peace and of universal charity. A pastor of Basle is cited who has taken the text of his sermon from Schiller or Goethe. "Do not let us speak too much of sin," says one pastor; another declares that the modern man does not wish to be fed with truth. A pastor of Argovie has been blamed by the ecclesiastical authority for having acted in a provoking and aggressive manner, by reading from the symbol of the apostles during the communion service. The professor of dogmatics, rector of the University of Berne, who has lately died, taught his pupils that God was but the spirit of all humanity, that all religions had come from below, and that therefore there was no divine revelation. According to him, Greek and Christian mythology closely resembled each other, and the divine Trinity differed but little from the trinity of Apollo, Jupiter, and Minerva.

Unbelieving pastors have gone so far in their negations that they have brought about a reaction in the people whom they have addressed. Societies which struggle against the increase of unbelief among the people often have requests from parishes devoid of religious help. It is often a cry of distress from parents who beg for a pastor who may teach their children something

beyond the pernicious doctrines that resound from the pulpit. Workmen have even protested against a school founded by one of the most fervent apostles of socialism, a naturalized Russian, and have declared that, brought up themselves in the Christian faith, they would not reject it. Unhappily the school was founded, and now numbers from eighty to a hundred scholars, girls and boys.

That which gives great influence to pernicious doctrines, and which in return paralyzes in a certain measure the action of pious men who combat them, is so strong an attachment to ancient traditions that the church as an institution, as a part of the state, preserves still a *prestige* which makes it accept grave faults, and in many cases flagrant infidelities. This sentiment is so strong in German Switzerland that there results a marked dislike to any changes, and even sometimes to any actions, which were not prescribed by its regulations. It is this which renders the diffusion of the ideas of the Evangelical Alliance so different in eastern Switzerland.

It is certain that open unbelief shows itself less in French Switzerland, and above all does not appear in its pulpits, as in the case of German Switzerland. The contest between orthodoxy and rationalism is not equal in power to that which is waged between *positifs* and *reformists* in German Switzerland. At Geneva, Neuchatel, and in the canton of Vaud rationalism has certainly declined during late years. Separations between pastors have also greatly diminished, and they now co-operate in many works of evangelization or of philanthropy. They have come to understand that above all it is necessary to save souls and to join their forces in opposing growing unbelief.

We have dwelt at length upon the unbelief and other evils of the religious state of Switzerland; let us now turn towards the other side, to the earnest and zealous Christians fighting with perseverance under the flag of their Master and Lord. Among all Christians we see a pressing need of working and of proving by their works for others not only the existence but the strength of their convictions. Each year new methods arise, in which the lay element takes an active part. In the first rank we place associations destined to evangelization not only in Switzerland but in France and among pagan nations who have not yet received the light of the gospel. Outside of the three principal

independent churches of Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchatel, we mention the Moravian Brethren, who are numerous in the canton of Neuchatel, and the Wesleyan Methodists, who are spread through eastern Switzerland, and above all in Zurich.

The Swiss Evangelical Union, which under different names counts ten sections, is one of the most powerful and active agents in spreading the gospel in Switzerland. It endeavors to have it understood, especially in German cantons, that it does not undertake founding an independent church. At Berne, for example, one of its sections, which bears the name of Evangelical Society, undertakes a large number of local committees in villages throughout the country. These committees have built halls where reunions of every kind are held. The twenty-five laborers of the society are under the direction of an inspector, and our brothers of Berne credit themselves with having started "the week of preaching." When one of the local committees makes a request, and only then, an evangelist is sent who during one week preaches every evening, and the effects of such efforts have been greatly blessed. By the side of this the National Evangelical Union at Berne has other most diverse methods of work: preaching occasionally or at regular times, as at Geneva, where the society has pastors in its own service; Biblical instruction for young men who are to become evangelists; Sunday-schools; meetings of prayer and mutual edification; publications; journals. All these exist and develop from day to day.

Societies of internal missions founded especially in large cities have a right to our mention, such as the work of popular evangelization, whose object is to announce the word of God in very simple form, often by the mouth of the laity, and in places easily accessible, and for those who are repulsed by the name of church. The Sunday-schools are now united in an association which has its journals and its general conferences. They become all the more necessary and important as the daily school is more and more closed to the gospel. Christian unions of young men and of young women are spread through the country, and it is at Geneva that exists the International Committee of Christian Associations. From all sides efforts are multiplied, and one can affirm that if unbelief is more open and aggressive than for thirty or forty years, the defenders of the faith are also more numerous and more aggressive.

It would be unjust to forget influences which, although not having evangelization, so-called, for an end, are, however, the fruit of the gospel because they are inspired by it. The society for the preservation of the Sabbath has reached the ear of authorities, and certainly it is to its action that we owe many laws that have given the rest of the Sabbath to manufactories and to works of public service, such as the post office and railroads.

Temperance societies make most joyful progress in Switzerland, directed by men who for the greater part are Christians, although they do not pretend to be religious organizations. This spring they numbered 6800 members, of which 640 were formerly drinkers. They also publish numerous journals and brochures. The societies now occupy themselves among students, knowing well the influence that a habit of drinking exerts over them. We would also speak of the associations which work for the moral health of our people in hindering the spread of immoral literature which is brought from abroad. We cannot too greatly applaud their efforts, as each day brings in new proofs of the ravages that certain romances and journals make among all classes.

It is not possible to close these reflections upon the religious state of Protestant Switzerland without saying a word of the theological crisis which exists in all the churches. During the past few years the churches of Vaud and of Neuchatel especially have been agitated by grave dissensions on Christology and upon the principle of authority. Their debates have shown that the majority of the theologians who have any authority in our churches belong to what is called the new school, and have in consequence rejected many points of belief and of methods of traditional orthodoxy.

We have so far only spoken of Protestant Switzerland, or at least of those cantons in which Protestants are in the majority, and it now remains to say a few words in reference to Catholic Switzerland. There are in the country two Catholicisms, the National and the Liberal, or Ancient, Catholicism, which has at its head a bishop. The latter in Geneva merely vegetates, and would certainly entirely disappear were the support of the state withdrawn from it. It is indeed due to political power rather than to religious conviction that National Catholicism really exists.

If one judges of the increase of Protestantism and of Ca-

tholicism merely numerically, the advantage is certainly in favor of the latter, and their increase is of such a nature as to give serious thought to Protestants. The causes of this increase are very varied. In the first place there is immigration. Switzerland is surrounded by Catholic countries only. Wurtemberg is its only Protestant neighbor, and under such circumstances it is easily seen that the majority of workmen and other strangers who come to settle in the country are Catholic. At Geneva the larger part of the population is Catholic, and the absolute condition imposed by the church of Rome that the children of mixed marriages should be educated and brought up Catholics is greatly in favor of that church. Another cause of their increase is the opposition that radical Protestant governments have shown against Catholics. Everything which approaches persecution immediately kindles the zeal of those who, without it, had never shown a great attachment to their church.

Another much more grave cause is the state of Protestantism itself and the view which it presents to the outside world. Without doubt its absolute dogmatic liberty, its formal opposition to all ecclesiastical authority, its absence of any narrow binding confession of faith, may have some advantage, and may give to each man a more personal conviction of faith in obliging him to ask himself, What are the foundations of my belief? But what can be more astonishing to a feeble or troubled soul than to hear on two consecutive Sundays and in two neighboring churches contradictory doctrines preached? Will it not feel unsettled at the sight of startling religious inventions? And each year there seems to be a new one, and that their apostles preach with an equal assurance, whether they may be officers of the Salvation Army or Seventh-day Adventists, adepts of perfect sanctification or of faith healing. When to this disquieted soul is presented a church with its dogmas perfectly defined, religious forms strictly regulated, an imposing exterior, unity; when this church offers to it a certain means of safety and of coming out of the indecisions which torment it, oh, will it not run to it as to a refuge where it hopes to find peace and the rest for which it longs? Culpable weakness do you call it? An unpardonable abdication of its will and of its spiritual liberty? Nothing more true; but let us confess, we Protestants, that if the career of

Catholicism progresses and develops with a surprising facility, it is we that have prepared the way for it.

May God keep us from this double danger, from unbelief and from error! And for this holy war against the adversaries of the gospel God himself calls many soldiers to whom he will say, as to Gideon, "Go with this power that thou hast. . . . Is it not I that send thee?"

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE STATE.

By Rev. James M. King, D.D., of New York.

DEFINITION OF LIBERTY.

Chateaubriand said: "Every one desires liberty, but it is impossible to say what it is."

Liberty, applied to political man, practically means protection or checks against undue interference from individuals, from masses, or from government.

True liberty is a positive force, regulated by law; false liberty is a negative force, a release from restraint. True liberty is the moral power of self-government.

Lieber said: "I mean by civil liberty that liberty which plainly results from the application of the general idea of freedom to the civil state of man, that is, to his relations as a political being, a being obliged by his nature and destined by his Creator to live in society. Civil liberty is the result of man's twofold character, as an individual and a social being, so soon as both are equally respected. The end which is to be reached, and towards which all liberty and political civilization tend, is perfect liberty of conscience."

THE RELATIONS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Religious liberty is the most convincing test of free institutions and of the genuine character of civil liberty.

Civil liberty has never materially advanced and never has become satisfactorily secure except as it has been preceded by the recognition of man's right to religious liberty.

"Civil liberty requires for its support religious liberty, and cannot prosper without it." Religious liberty "is freedom in

religion, not freedom *from* religion; as true civil liberty is freedom *in* law and not freedom *from* law." In this lie both the effectiveness and the peril of a republican form of government.

All genuine religion is voluntary, and therefore cannot exist without liberty.

Both civil and religious liberty are instinctive in this republic.

Religious liberty as we understand and enjoy it is impossible where there is a union of church and state.

Judge Cooley says: "A careful examination of the American constitutions will disclose the fact that nothing is more fully set forth, or more plainly expressed, than the determination of their authors to preserve and perpetuate religious liberty and to guard against the slightest approach towards the establishment of an inequality in the civil and political rights of citizens, which shall have for its basis only their differences of religious belief. The American people came to the work of framing their fundamental laws after centuries of religious oppression and persecution, sometimes by one party or sect and sometimes by another, had taught them the utter futility of all attempts to propagate religious opinions by the rewards, penalties, or terrors of human laws. While careful to establish, protect, and defend religious freedom and equality, the American constitutions contain no provisions which prohibit the authorities from such solemn recognition of a superintending Providence in public transactions and exercises as the general religious sentiment of mankind inspires, and seems meet and proper in finite and dependent beings. Whatever may be the shades of religious belief, all must acknowledge the fitness of recognizing in important human affairs the superintending care and control of the great Governor of the universe, and of acknowledging with thanksgiving his boundless favors, or bowing in contrition when visited with the penalties of his broken laws."

DEFINITION OF THE STATE AND ITS POWERS.

"The state is a power claiming and exercising supreme jurisdiction over a certain portion of the earth. Here it acknowledges no superior, unless it be God. It is the sovereign arbiter of life and death. It fixes the civil status; it regulates the social action; it determines, either directly or permissively, wholly or

partially, according to its sovereign pleasure, the rights, duties, and relations of all human beings within its territorial sway. Men may claim rights as belonging to them by nature, but the state assumes to say whether they shall exercise them."

Individual liberty is dependent upon the will of the state. Absolute sovereignty and the employment of unlimited force over the person and personal conduct, over the family, over morals, over property, over political rights, over corporate existences, over life, are claimed as the prerogatives of the state. "It is omnipotent; there is no earthly power that can touch its hand, or say unto it, what doest thou?" has been said of the British Parliament representing the British nation, and it is true of every ultimate political organization.

And it matters not whether the form of government be imperial or republican. Every state is responsible to its own will, and "that will may be anything it wills to be if there is not some acknowledged check regarded as immutable." The tyranny and cruelty of the will of a multitude may be as unjust as the corporate will exercised by a despot or by an oligarchy.

National sovereignty is the source of the right of revolution. If revolution fails, it is rebellion; if it is a duty and if it succeeds because it is right, it is the legitimate act of the state.

Such sovereignty as the state exercises can only be maintained as it acknowledges some divine rule and some "higher law," to which it is responsible and from which it derives its sovereignty. A godless state, imperial or republican, possessing a written or unwritten constitution, is pure despotism, claiming and possessing the power of life and death over existing millions and determining how unborn generations shall commence their earthly existence.

Such a power cannot be neutral on the vital and persuasive human interest of religion. It must be for or against religion. There can be no neutrality. The state must declare itself, and every state does.

The purpose of a civil polity, personated by the state, is to promote harmony and prevent discord among men associated for mutual benefits. This polity can only secure its ends as it recognizes man as both a moral and a religious being, and must so relate and regulate the powers which all men possess as to guarantee the greatest freedom to all consistent with the general harmony.

A state properly organized represents individual *man*, represents every man as he should be in his normal relations. A state "is an enacted and operative morality."

Religious liberty is not made for man by the state, but he makes it for himself in and by the state.

In all ages the power that founds states is religion. The basis of all states is the sanctity of the truth.

Since the state is created by the moral and religious sense of its people, it therefore cannot create its creator, and hence religious liberty is always a right and never can be a privilege.

"No state has heretofore attained a permanent life without some faith in a higher than human power. Something above man to which man is subject has always been a recognized bond of society."

That a state or nation should be guided by the same general principles of moral conduct by which an individual is, or ought to be, guided in his private conduct, is a truth which seems involved in the very conception of national being. In the civilized world of modern Europe and America we take theological and political differences for granted; but we assume a common morality. But how shall the state be said to possess any moral code except as the consensus of belief among the people determines it?

For what does the state exist? The very idea and origin of our government is to afford opportunity for the development and protection of man as a moral and social being. Its existence is impossible as well as uncalled for, and criminal, unless it answer these ends. We seek and secure the divorce of the state and formulated religion; but when the Christian religion and the morality it teaches are taken out of our civil government, nothing remains save an offensive carcass. The state, however, as a symbol and embodiment of morality, is a necessity of man's moral nature. The state, under our form of government, has to recognize Christian morality as the basis of its own existence.

And, therefore, while it exists for secular and civil purposes, it finds itself substantially the creature of Christianity; and whenever it has found itself engaged in a struggle for its defence or existence, it has never issued from the struggle until it has adopted for its war-cry some principle that has had its birth in Christian morality.

Prof. Atwater of Princeton has said: "Morality enters into the very being of the state as the impelling and the final cause of its formation. Its very end is to promote the prevalence of justice by self-imposed laws—laws imposed in the exercise of its own free activity by its own constituted authorities, and not by any alien power."

Prof. Bouquillon of the Catholic University in Washington has recently written: "There are three essential societies instituted by God to work harmoniously in conducting man to his perfection and his end: the domestic, the civil, the religious. Therefore we must determine what are the reciprocal rights, duties, and powers of these three societies in the intellectual formation of man."

Asserting and substantiating the right of the family and the church to educate, he says in reference to the state: "We affirm unhesitatingly, and in accord, as we think, with the principles of sound theology and philosophy, and with the testimony of the tradition of the church, that it must be admitted, as the larger number of theologians do admit, that the state has the right to educate. The state has been endowed by God with the right of founding the schools that contribute to its welfare."

Victor Cousin says: "The state has the right to confer the power of educating, for to educate is not a natural right, but a public and social right."

SPHERE AND FUNCTION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The church and the state are both divine institutions, but they have separate spheres and functions.

Both meet on questions of public morals, and both together constitute civilized human society and insure its prosperity.

Dr. Strong says: "Precisely what is meant by the separation of church and state is not commonly, or indeed often, understood. There does not seem to have been made a clear distinction between function and sphere, for lack of which there has been much confusion, and most people have gained a radically wrong idea of the sphere of the church. Sphere is the *extent* or *field* of activity, while function is the kind or nature of that activity. The sphere of an organ is *where* it operates, its function is *what it does*."

"As society becomes more highly organized it becomes more important to keep the function of church and state separate; but it is as great a mistake to limit the sphere of the church, as it is not to limit its functions. The sphere of the church includes that of the state and much more. It is as broad as the sphere of conscience, which is as far-reaching as all human activity."

"Of course, the church has and ought to have authority in the administration of her internal affairs, but she should have no authority whatever over the public or over any individual outside her own institutions. Beyond her own walls let the church have unbounded influence, but not one iota of authority."

Mr. W. T. Stead says: "The state and municipality differ from the church in this, that whereas the church says, 'You ought,' the municipality says, 'You must.'"

William III. declared that "conscience is God's province."

LIMITATIONS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

There can be no individual liberty without limitations, where every citizen is not subject to law, and where he is subject to aught else than the law, which is public opinion organically passed over into public will. This we call the supremacy of the law. The law of a freeman is a general rule of action, having grown out of the custom of the people, or having been laid down by the authority empowered by the people to do so, and it must be a rule which does not violate a superior law or civil principle.

Religious liberty must have civil limitations, as the law of self-preservation is as vital to the state as to the individual. Individual and public morality, safety, peace, and welfare must be protected against a religion that would injure them.

Chief Justice Waite in rendering the decision of the United States Supreme Court, in the only case in which this government has undertaken to define the limits of religious liberty, where Congress prohibited polygamy in the territory of Utah, said: "Laws are made for the government of actions, and while they cannot interfere with mere religious belief and opinions, they may with practices.—As a law of the organization of society under the exclusive dominion of the United States, it is provided that plural marriages shall not be allowed. Can a man exercise his practices to the contrary because of his religious belief? To

permit this would be to make the professed doctrines of religious belief superior to the law of the land, and in effect to permit every citizen to become a law unto himself. Government could exist only in name under such circumstances."

Public opinion, which is the creator and interpreter of laws in a free country, must here determine the limitations of religious liberty.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

Historically speaking, three theories have prevailed in practice concerning the relations of church and state. First, church supremacy over civil government. Second, state supremacy over the church. Third, church and state reciprocally independent.

Separation of church and state is both essentially republican and Christian. The author of Christianity distinctly announced for the ages this principle when he said: "Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's."

What does the separation of church and state mean in this land? Church and state coexist here, but they are not wedded. They have their individual work to perform. The secular interests are guarded and promoted by the state; the moral and religious interests by the church. And yet so closely are they related to each other that the state depends for its existence upon the character given its citizenship by the church, and the church, in turn, receives protection from the state for its property and from interference with its worship and instruction. Our experiment has proved that religious liberty is the best friend of genuine Christianity, and that it is also the best foundation for a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The union of church and state is a different question from the union of religion and the state. Union in both of these cases is possible, but separation of religion from the state is impossible.

Dr. Schaff says: "Whatever may be the merits of the theory of the American system, it has worked well in practice. It has stood the test of experience. It has the advantages of the union of church and state without its disadvantages. It secures all the rights of the church without the sacrifice of liberty and independence, which are worth more than endowments."

The following is briefly his summary: (1) The voluntary system develops individual activity and liberality in the support of religion; (2) the necessity of self-support of the church at home does not diminish but increases the active zeal for the spread of the gospel abroad; (3) the voluntary system develops the self-governing power of the church in the laity; (4) the free-church system secures the exercise of church discipline; (5) free separation is more honest than forced division.

Freedom in civil affairs, freedom of thought, and freedom of speech are valued possessions, but religious freedom is more sacred than all these, because it is first in the estimation of humanity, and because it is the chief protection and guarantee of all other freedom.

The present practical relation between church and state in this country is not safely satisfactory because in important particulars it is not absolute.

The God of our fathers postponed the peopling of this land until the Scriptures had been disentombed in the Old World, and had created a race of men with the heroism of liberated consciences, and of the right character to found a republic. Refugees from civil and religious persecution in lands where church and state were united founded this government, where civil liberty and religious liberty are enjoyed and perpetuated so far as the conceded American principles of the separation of church and state is scrupulously maintained.

This principle has not been definitely and adequately expressed in the constitutions of many of the states comprising the Union.

Only a minority of the forty-four state constitutions contain provisions against the violation of religious liberty and expressly prohibit sectarian appropriations; and it is believed that only a national provision can set these questions at rest. Therefore a comprehensive amendment to the constitution of the United States prohibiting sectarian appropriations by the states has been submitted to Congress and is receiving large and favorable attention throughout the country.

In response to direct appeal to individuals, to religious, secular, and patriotic organizations during the past three years, twenty-five millions of the more thoughtful of our population have expressed their conviction either by autograph or represent-

ative action that the principles embodied in the proposed form of XVI. Amendment, safeguarding religious liberty and perpetuating the separation of church and state ought to be incorporated in the national constitution, and have made their appeal to Congress to this effect.

The following is the text of the proposed XVI. Amendment:

"No state shall pass any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or use its property or credit, or any money raised by taxation, or authorize either to be used, for the purpose of founding, maintaining, or aiding, by appropriation, payment for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church, religious denomination or religious society, or any institution, society, or undertaking which is wholly or in part under sectarian or ecclesiastical control."

It is believed that, should this amendment become a part of the United States constitution, the following ends would be largely secured:

1. The practical separation of church and state, with absolute guarantees for religious liberty.

2. The defence of the funds and of the integrity of the American free common-school system of education.

3. The elimination of religious controversy from political questions.

4. The destruction of the power of ecclesiasticism over both citizenship and statesmanship.

DANGERS FROM THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The relation of church and state has been the vexed problem of the civilization of the centuries. The unholy alliance between church and state has been the principal disturber of the peace of nations. Any courtship or wedded relation has eventually proved the curse of both. Whenever the Christian church has sought the favor of rulers or governments, it has become a subject and not a sovereign. Whenever rulers or governments have sought the favor of the church, they have become the abject slaves of ecclesiasticism, the worst bondage ever known to man.

History shows that where religious sects have been allowed to take public lands or public money they have become gorged with wealth and have forced a union of church and state. It

also shows that wherever religion has been wedded to the state, individual conscience has been debauched and a gigantic, tyrannical political machine has been instituted.

The first peril which our fathers thought menaced the republic was this very question. Hence the first amendment to the constitution of the United States declares that

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

This amendment is protective as well as prohibitive, and was born of respect for and not of contempt for religion and its free exercise.

The chief effort in this country to establish and intrench a body ecclesiastic or bodies ecclesiastic is through access to state treasuries. The union of church and state has uniformly found its strongest bond in the partnership in the educational interests of the people. The introduction of sectarian interests in the matter of public support of schools and charities is a constantly growing element of danger. Taxation for the support of sectarian schools is always a peril for both the church and the state. In educational, penal, reformatory, and benevolent work there exists now in this nation and in many of the states a dangerous financial bond of union. The legislated exemption of church property from taxation is a vital, dangerous, and iniquitous form of union of church and state.

Macaulay said: "The whole history of the Christian religion shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power than of being crushed by its opposition."

Dr. Schaff said: "Secular power has proved a satanic gift to the church, and ecclesiastical power has proved an engine of tyranny in the hands of the state."

Cardinal Gibbons says: "For my part, I believe the relations between the church and state are as close and cordial as we should desire. All we ask is a fair field and no special favor. I do not wish to see the day when the state will be called on to build our churches and subsidize our clergy. For it were to be feared that, as soon as the government began to support the church, it would dictate to us what doctrines we ought to preach. And in proportion as state patronage would increase, the devotion and patronage of the faithful would wax cold. If it is a

great wrong to muzzle the press, it would be a great wrong to muzzle the pulpit."

Dr. Orestes A. Brownson said: "It may be safely asserted that, except in the United States, the church is either held by the civil power in subjection, or treated as an enemy. The relation is not that of union and harmony, but that of antagonism, to the grave detriment of both religion and civilization."

OPINIONS ON SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The consensus of intelligent opinion from all Protestants and many Roman Catholics in this country now favors religious liberty so far as separation of church and state is concerned.

Grant said: "Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contribution. Keep the state and the church forever separate."

Garfield said: "The separation of the church and state on everything relating to taxation should be absolute."

On February 6, 1893, Cardinal Gibbons is reported to have said in a speech delivered in Philadelphia:

"I am firmly persuaded, both by study and observation, that the church is more sturdy in her growth, and is more prosperous in her career, when she is free to pursue her divine mission without any interference on the part of the state. Here, thank God, the church is free, and therefore she is prosperous. Here the church and the state run in parallel lines, each assisting the other, and neither of them unwarrantably intruding on the domain of the other. Here the constitution holds over the church its protecting arm without interfering in ecclesiastical affairs."

James Madison said: "Religion flourishes in greater purity without than with the aid of government."

HISTORIC STATEMENT OF THE ORIGIN OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN AMERICA.

For the first three centuries of Christianity there was no approach toward union of church and state. Christians obeyed the civil laws so far as the higher law of conscience would permit and faced death rather than disobey its admonitions, or retract their demand for religious liberty as a right.

While inheriting many benefits from the Old World, the American theory of the normal relationship of church and state differs both from all European experience and from our own colonial history.

The system of toleration exists in Germany, in England, and generally in Europe, and even to a degree in Roman Catholic countries, where the government supports an Established Church or churches and permits, under condition other religious organizations to exist.

Religious liberty in America has not been inherited from either the legislation or the example found in the history of the mother-country.

The establishment in England of the equality of all religious denominations before the law (excepting the Established Church, which has special privileges) is of recent date. In 1689 a partial Act of Toleration was enacted. It was extended to Unitarians in 1813; to Roman Catholics in 1829; to Jews in 1858. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were not open to students of all religious denominations until 1871.

Religious liberty was proclaimed in the United States nearly a hundred years before this last restriction concerning the English universities was removed.

When the thirteen American colonies adopted state constitutions Virginia and New York alone guaranteed religious liberty. The other states made religious discriminations by religious tests for their officials.

Virginia in 1776 declared: "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise forbearance, love, and charity towards each other."

New York, in its first constitution in 1777, abolished the established church, and adopted a section, as Douglas Campbell says: "Which, it is believed, entitles New York to the honor of being the first organized government of the world to assert by constitutional provision the principle of perfect religious freedom." Section 38 reads as follows: "And whereas, we were required by the benevolent principles of rational liberty, not only to expel

civil tyranny, but also to guard against that spiritual oppression and intolerance wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests and princes have scourged mankind, this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this state, ordain, determine, and declare than the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this state to all mankind."

Virginia chiefly was indebted for its religious liberty to French political and philosophical free-thinking ideas through Thomas Jefferson. New York's constitutional provisions which have furnished the chief foundation for American religious liberty were generated by freedom of thought, but not by free-thinkers. New York's "Dutch ancestors taught and practised religious toleration, they expanded toleration into liberty, and in this form transmitted to posterity the heritage which Holland had sent across the sea a century and a half before."

Enforced conformity to the state religion and the suppression of individual religious opinions not in accord with the teachings of the established church were, up to the sixteenth century, accounted among the Christian nations of Europe as both the province and the duty of civil government. The church of Rome claimed the right to demand that the civil power should enforce its edicts to produce conformity in matters of religion, and rulers generally acceded to the demand.

The Reformation involved no denial of the principle of the state's coercive right, and while its claim of the right of private judgment and individual responsibility to God eventually led to religious toleration, it was no more distinctly recognized by the reformers than by the Roman hierarchy.

The origin of the Reformation in England was more political than religious. The idea of religious toleration had as little place in the mind of Henry and Elizabeth as in the mind of Mary, and toleration was not the inspiration of the Puritan controversies in England.

The settlers of Plymouth and of the colony of Massachusetts Bay had no practical conception of either the separation of church and state or of religious liberty. Winthrop in 1630, on his way to America, wrote on shipboard that he and his companions came

"to seek out a place of cohabitation and consortship under a due form of government both civil and ecclesiastical."

They established a civil government intolerant of religious liberty, where freedom of conscience, of opinion, and of worship were not permitted; but paradoxical as it may appear, they established a form of church government which became a powerful agency in bringing religious toleration.

Hallam said that "The Congregational scheme leads to toleration as the national-church scheme is adverse to it."

Roger Williams was arraigned and banished in 1635 for holding "that the magistrate ought not to punish breaches of the first table or to enforce religious opinions or observances by law."

While the early settlers in this country from Europe came seeking freedom for themselves, they monopolized it and denied it to others. The Congregational, the Church of England, and the Quaker churches were all intolerant. The opposition to the abolition of religious tests was strongest in Massachusetts, where Congregationalism was the established church.

One of the remote causes of the American Revolution was the intolerance and injustice practised by state churchmen towards dissenters. Several of the American colonies, following the example of England, established churches supported by the state.

England gave Magna Charta, and America gave the liberty of religion and its free exercise to Christian civilization.

"The United States furnishes the first example in history of a government deliberately depriving itself of all legislative control over religion, which was justly regarded by all older governments as the chief support of public morality, order, peace, and prosperity. But it was an act of wisdom and justice rather than self-denial." "The constitution did not create a nation, nor its religion and institutions. It found them already existing, and was framed for the purpose of protecting them under a republican form of government, in a rule of the people, by the people, and for the people."

As a state France's contribution to religious liberty has been characteristically vacillating. England has made many heroic and successful efforts in the direction of religious liberty, but never has attained complete emancipation either for herself or her colonial dependencies.

Religious liberty, insisted upon by William of Orange, was the cornerstone of the Dutch republic.

The religious toleration of Holland was the one element that contributed to its vast increase of both population and wealth.

Judge Story said that the charter which Charles II. granted to Rhode Island in response to the appeal of Roger Williams was "the first royal proclamation of religious liberty for man as man that the world had heard since Christianity had ascended the throne of the Cæsars."

Religious tests were abolished by Article VI. of the constitution of the United States, adopted in 1787, which declares that all executive, legislative, and judicial officers of the United States and of the several states "shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution; but no religious tests hall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

This is negative but partially prohibitory, and secures the state from ecclesiastical domination.

The I. Amendment, adopted in 1791, prohibits Congress from making any law "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, but who did not aid in framing the constitution, wrote, in reference to the I. Amendment: "I contemplate with sovereign reverence the act of the whole American people which declares that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between church and state."

The exclusion of atheists from office in New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, and the exclusion of clergymen in Delaware, Maryland, and Tennessee, constitute the only religious disabilities now existing in any of the United States.

The Baptists were the first body of English Christians that formulated and enforced the doctrine of religious liberty, and a British writer says of the declaration of this body in 1611: "It is believed that this is the first expression of the absolute principle of liberty of conscience in the public articles of any body of Christians."

Bancroft says of Roger Willams that "He was the first person

in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law, and in its defence he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor."

The principle of religious liberty practically applied, most largely for English-speaking peoples and notably for the American people, had its birth in Holland.

While Cromwell ruled in England there was for the first time in English history an approach to religious liberty, but this was exclusive and limited.

The constitutions of all the forty-four states contain specific provisions for the free exercise of religious belief and worship.

The constitutions of the following thirty-one states provide specifically against the compulsory support of any church: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

The constitutions of the following thirty states provide specifically against the creation of an established church: Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

The constitutions of the following twenty-eight states declare that no religious test shall be required as a qualification for office: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming.

The constitutions of the following twenty-two states contain specific provisions against sectarian appropriations to religious institutions, churches, and schools: California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire,

North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

Prof. Bryce says: "Religious freedom has been generally thought of in America in the form of freedom and equality as between different sorts of Christians, or at any rate different sorts of theists; persons opposed to religion altogether have till recently been extremely few everywhere and practically unknown in the South. The neutrality of the state cannot therefore be said to be theoretically complete."

"The passion for equality in religious as well as in secular matters is everywhere in America far too strong to be braved, and nothing excites more general disapprobation than any attempt by an ecclesiastical organization to interfere in politics."

"Christianity is in fact understood to be, though not the legally established religion, yet the national religion. So far from thinking their commonwealth godless, the Americans conceive that the religious character of a government consists in nothing but the religious belief of the individual citizens and the conformity of their conduct to that belief. They deem the general acceptance of Christianity to be one of the main sources of their national prosperity, and their nation a special object of the divine favor. The legal position of a Christian church is in the United States simply that of a voluntary association, or group of associations, corporate or unincorporate, under the ordinary law."

Prof. Bryce further says: "The absence of state interference in matters of religion is one of the most striking differences between all the European countries on the one hand and the United States on the other. So far from suffering from the want of state support, religion seems in the United States to stand all the firmer because of it."

In this country all churches and denominations have legal equality; "*the church*" is a meaningless phrase in America.

Religious toleration marks the progress of the world towards religious liberty, but it is not religious liberty.

Toleration which may be withdrawn, means disapproval primarily, and then grudging concession.

Lord Stanhope in 1827 said: "The time was when toleration was craved by dissenters as a boon; it is now demanded as a right; but a time will come when it will be spurned as an insult."

Judge Cooley says: "It is not toleration which is established in our system, but religious equality."

We take for granted that freedom of conscience is the gift of God, and this logically requires freedom in its exercise.

AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Without attempting the expression of personal opinion on America's contribution to religious liberty, we simply summon a few competent witnesses.

Lieber said: "Conscience lies beyond the reach of government." "The liberty of worship is one of the primordial rights of man, and no system of liberty can be considered comprehensive which does not include guarantees for the free exercise of this right. It belongs to American liberty to separate entirely the institution which has for its object the support and diffusion of religion from the political government."

David Dudley Field in a recent paper on "American Progress in Jurisprudence" has said: "If we had nothing else to boast of, we could claim with justice that, first among the nations, we of this country made it an article of organic law that the relations between man and his Maker were a private concern into which other men had no right to intrude."

Chief Judge Andrews of the Court of Appeals of New York State has recently written: "It is not, I suppose, now lawful under any state constitution to pass any law for the establishment of religion; for the compulsory support by taxation of any religious institutions; to enforce attendance on religious worship; to restrain the free exercise of any form of religion according to the dictates of conscience; or to prevent or hamper the free expression of religious belief."

By the I. Amendment to the federal constitution, "the American states, for the first time in the history of governments, have made it a part of their fundamental law that the civil power shall neither establish nor maintain any form of religion, and that religious belief shall not be subject to the coercive power of the state. This is a contribution by America to the science of government."

Dr. Schaff said: "This relationship of church and state marks an epoch. It is a new chapter in the history of Christian-

ity, and the most important one which America has so far contributed."

PROVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION AND ITS FIRST AMENDMENT.

Judge Story said: "This clause (the last in Art. VI., 3) is not introduced merely for the purpose of satisfying the scruples of many respectable persons who feel an invincible repugnance to any religious test or affirmation. It had a higher object: to cut off forever every pretence of any alliance between church and state in the national government. The framers of the constitution were fully sensible of the dangers from this sourcel marked out in the history of other ages and countries and not wholly unknown to our own."

"It was impossible that there should not arise perpetual strife and perpetual jealousy on the subject of ecclesiastica, ascendency if the national government were left free to create a religious establishment. The only security was in extirpating the power. But this alone would have been an imperfect security, if it had not been followed up by a declaration of the right of the free exercise of religion, and a prohibition of all religious tests. Thus, the whole power over the subject of religion is left exclusively to the state governments, to be acted upon according to their own sense of justice and the state constitutions; and the Catholic and the Protestant, the Calvinist and the Arminian, the Jew and the infidel, may sit down at the common table of the national councils without any inquisition into their faith or mode of worship."

Chief Justice Waite said: "Congress was deprived of all legislative power over mere opinion, but was left free to reach actions which were in violation of social duties or subversive of good order." The I. Amendment is a restraint upon Congress only. To make religious liberty unassailable the same national constitutional prohibition ought to apply to the states by national action and by consent of all the states.

THE NATION IS RELIGIOUS FROM THE CHRISTIAN STANDPOINT.

The founder of the American republic in his farewell address showed that he was both animated with hope for the new nation

and solicitous for its future when he coupled national prosperity with the Christian religion and Christian morality.

Daniel Webster deemed the advance of rationality so great in this nation that only the Christian religion could be regarded as meeting its demands.

In respect to morals and religion it is impossible for the state to be either neutral or indifferent. If the prevailing religious sentiment and profession of the people are Christian, that nation is Christian. On this ground we assert that the American nation is a Christian nation. While the Christian spirit of justice and humanity pervade it, and while its framers were believers in God and in future rewards and punishments, the name of God does not appear in the constitution of the United States. An overruling Providence in the affairs of nations is recognized in the Declaration of Independence, in most of the state constitutions, and in the colonial charters. The Declaration appeals to the "Supreme Judge of the world," and speaks of "reliance on the protection of divine Providence."

Goldwin Smith says: "Not democracy in America, but free Christianity in America, is the real key to the study of the people and their institutions."

Dr. Schaff (to whom we are indebted for a most able discussion on "Church and State in the United States") cites as proofs of the Christian character of this nation, which he authenticates by facts and historic citations: (1) religious activity; (2) Christian legislation; (3) the oath; (4) official acts of the President; (5) the exemption of church property from taxation; (6) the appointment of chaplains; (7) the action of Congress concerning the Bible.

In the same line of argument he also cites three interests and institutions which belong to both church and state and must be maintained by both, viz., monogamy in marriage, the weekly day of rest, and the public school.

Cardinal Gibbons says: "We have no state religion or official church in the United States. But it would be a great mistake to draw as an inference from this fact that therefore our government is anti-Christian or anti-religious. I venture to say, on the contrary, that there is no commonwealth under the sun more strongly permeated by Christian and religious principles than the government of the Unites States."

George Bancroft said: "Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the new nation dares to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American constitution, in harmony with the people of the several states, withheld from the federal government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power."

President Dwight said: "Our mutual development has in it the best and purest element of historic Christianity as related to the government of states. Should we tear Christianity out of our law we would rob our law of its fairest jewels, we would deprive it of its richest treasures, we would arrest its growth, and bereave it of its capacity to adapt itself to the progress in culture, refinement, and morality of those for whose benefit it properly exists."

De Tocqueville said: "The new states must be religious in order to be free. Society must be destroyed unless the Christian moral tie be strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed; and what can be done with a people who are their own masters, if they be not submissive to Deity? It cannot be doubted that in the United States the instruction of the people powerfully contributed to the support of the democratic republic; and such must always be the case, I believe, where the instruction which enlightens the understanding is not separated from the moral education which amends the heart."

Dr. Woolsey says: "On the whole, while laws against irreligious acts notice them in part on account of their human evils, I cannot help finding in them another element, proceeding from religious feelings themselves, from reverence for the divine Being, irrespective of their injury to human society. Man, in his legislation, cannot get rid of his sentiments; even in the later attempts at legislation, when the limits are more exactly drawn between that which is injurious to society in some specific way and that which is sinful, the sentiment will assert its right in defining crime or enhancing punishment."

IN WHAT SENSE IS CHRISTIANITY THE COMMON LAW IN THIS NATION?

While by the decisions of the supreme courts of New York and Pennsylvania Christianity is declared to be a part of the common law of these commonwealths, I think it must be conceded that the highest legal authorities in this country agree that offences against God and his laws cannot be punished under our laws unless they are also offences against society.

Sunday laws under our constitutional system cannot be sustained because of the religious duty to observe Sunday as a holyday. But the civil Sunday is entrenched in our laws without infringing upon religious liberty.

We will confine our testimony on this phase of our subject to the recently expressed opinions of two eminent living jurists.

Judge Cooley says: "It is frequently said that Christianity is a part of the law of the land. In a certain sense and for certain purposes this is true. The best features of the common law, and especially those which regard the family and social relations; which compel the parent to support the child, the husband to support the wife; which makes the marriage-tie permanent and forbids polygamy,—if not derived from, have at least been improved and strengthened by the prevailing religion and the teachings of its sacred book. But the law does not attempt to enforce the precepts of Christianity on the ground of their sacred character or divine origin. Some of those precepts, though we may admit their continual and universal obligation, we must nevertheless recognize as being incapable of enforcement by human laws."

Judge Andrews says, in reference to the question as to how far and in what sense Christianity can be said to be the common law of the country, that "the claim that Christianity is a part of the common law seems to have originated in the dictum of Sir Matthew Hale, who on the trial of a person indicted for blasphemy said, 'Christianity is parcel of the law of England.' This was qualified by Lord Mansfield in 1767, who said that 'the essential principles of revealed religion are part of the common law.' Blackstone and other text-writers have repeated the declaration of Sir Matthew Hale."

I do not find that, except in the case of blasphemy, the

courts of England ever assumed to punish offences against religion unless they were created and defined by statute. In general, crime consists in the violation of human laws and institutions, and not in the violation of the laws of God except in so far as the divine laws have been incorporated by specific enactment into municipal law. In the state constitutions of the American states is generally, if not uniformly, to be found a provision that the common law of England shall form a part of the law of the state so far as it is applicable to the existing condition and is not repugnant to any provision of the instrument.

Christianity is not a part of the law of this country in such a sense as makes its commands or precepts binding upon the people, except so far only as they have been made a part of the statute or municipal law by adoption and incorporation. We live under laws made by a Christian people. Christianity underlies and has largely influenced the laws of Christian nations. The duties which men owe to each other and to society are proper subjects of civil cognizance, but the duties which they owe to God are of moral obligation only, and are not within the proper domain of civil authority, and any attempt to enforce them by legislation would be repugnant to our constitutional system.

Religious toleration, I cannot doubt, is one of the great steps in the march of human progress and intellectual freedom. We cannot prevent, if we would, speculation upon religious questions. The spirit of inquiry pervades the realm of truth in every department. Moral truths, like the truths of physical science, are eternal and unchangeable; but human conceptions of them in the one case, as in the other, are affected by the infirmities and limitations of the human understanding. The formulas in which men have sought to embody the statement of religious doctrine, while to a great extent they retain the mould in which they were originally cast, have been in many respects insensibly modified in their interpretation. With the widening of our intellectual and moral views many doctrines which were once regarded as fundamental have come to be considered as tentative merely, if they have not wholly lost their original significance. The spirit of Christianity is tolerant of differences of opinion honestly entertained. But it cannot be said, I think, that religious toleration in its development has been distinctly a Protes-

tant principle, though it has come more and more to be recognized as an essential condition of religious growth. Holding fast to what is fundamental, we can well afford to give up or not to insist upon those things which are debatable and upon which sincere men may honestly differ. The discussions of these days suggest to thoughtful men the question whether a broad toleration within a church is not as important to its best interests as toleration between the churches is to religion in general. I am persuaded that no more beneficent change in the interest of religion has been accomplished during the last century than that which has resulted from divorcing the church from state control, leaving religion to fight its own battles with error, unaided by and independently of the civil power. Christianity in the early centuries made its way in spite of and against the law. If, as Christians believe, it is of divine origin, and supplies an infinite human need, it is sure to go on from conquest to conquest until all peoples and nations shall come under and acknowledge its regenerating power.

CONCLUSION.

When the time shall come, when under the inspiration of religious liberty the individual citizens of this republic and the citizens of all lands shall become free men by a saving and experimental knowledge of the truth, and shall become loyal and loving subjects of the Prince of peace, then church and state will be united, not by legal enactments which impose unequal burdens and inflict unjust and discriminating penalties, but by the cohesive power of self-sacrificing Christian love, that is above law because it obeys law. Then the organic law of the state will be the expression of the Christian life of the people, themselves the rulers and the ruled, and debates concerning the province of the state and the province of the church will no longer be heard, because the state will be Christian and Christians will constitute the state.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

By Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., of Washington.

"La religion n'est pas plus nationale que la conscience. On ne peut proclamer une religion nationale, parce que la verité ne se vote pas."

Mirabeau, 1789.

"L'état laïque pour être fidèle à son caractère essentiel, doit remplir deux conditions; d'une part, il est term de respecter scrupuleusement la liberté des opinions quelles qu'elles soient, pourvu qu'elles ne troublent pas l'ordre public; d'une autre part, il lui est interdit de favoriser aucune forme religieuse aux dépens d'une autre." Pressensé, 1874.

Obviously a definition or explanation of terms is necessary for clearness of treatment. Religion is the expression in belief or conduct of a conscious relation between man and God. Prof. Schultz says: "Religion is the free devotion to God which arises through the conviction of the inability of the world to satisfy our spiritual, especially our moral, personality."

Freedom is the simple, unrepressed exercise of our powers without subjection to the will of another. Freedom of religion, then, would be the human right of worship, or non-worship, without the interference of another, subject only to the limitation that this free exercise is not to interfere with the like liberty of others. Religious freedom is the "free exercise and enjoyment of religion as an inherent, inviolable, and inalienable right of man," and means "full liberty of religious thought, speech, and action, within the limits of the public peace and order." Civil government, as such, has no religious functions. Religious doctrine and worship are outside its sphere of administration. "The state has nothing to do with churches except to protect them in their property and liberty, and the state must be equally just to all forms of belief and unbelief which do not endanger the public safety." Churches, denominations, sects, religionists, should be on a plane of undistinguishable equality before the law. Once,

church and state were universally united. The right of civil government to prescribe, regulate, and support worship was universally practised. Church membership and citizenship were commensurate, on equivalent terms or conditions. The Erastian theory put doctrine, discipline, and worship of a church under the rule of the civil authority. Heresy was made a crime against the state and was punishable as other crimes. Freedom of worship has been slowly conceded. Prior to the adoption of the constitution and the resultant union of the states, religious liberty was almost, if not entirely, unknown outside of Rhode Island. It is easier to get and maintain any other kind of freedom. The battle has been often baffled, but the victory is finally sure. Any contravention of the divine title of each person to the free use of the faculties with which God has endowed him is a violation of his right to liberty. The individual right to worship God is the highest, most valuable, most indefeasible of these faculties. Any civil disability imposed upon sect, denomination, church, or person because of religious opinions, any favoritism or partiality shown to sect, denomination, church, or person, any interference with absolute freedom of worship, any preference, resulting in civil, social, ecclesiastical, or pecuniary advantage, shown by civil authority to one cult over another, any coercion or privilege employed to favor one creed at the expense or to the prejudice of another, is an unscriptural and indefensible interference with religious liberty. We need not use ambiguous and misleading words about tolerance. Government has nothing to do with toleration. An establishment is necessarily, *semper et ubique*, an interference with, a denial of, soul-liberty. Government has no right to formulate a religious creed, to give the benefit of its sanction, its partnership, its discriminating favor, to any creed. To give one cent of public money, or the slightest civil preference, or legal advantage, to one creed rather than to another, nay, to any creed at all, is radically, scripturally, universally, wrong. If an establishment is defensible or right in Spain or Great Britain, it is right everywhere.

After these definitions and explanations of religious liberty, it is proper to say that the purpose of this essay is not argumentative, but historical. The thesis assigned implies a comparison betwixt the past and the present, and this preliminary statement is to fix upon a standard of comparison. Applying the defini-

tions, or holding them in mind, different countries will be brought to view. The facts have been diligently sought for, and only the highest and most competent sources of information have been consulted. It would have enlarged this essay beyond bounds, if it had even been possible, to collate the laws of all the civilized countries. Only a few of the most enlightened governments, or such as might be considered typical, have been selected to illustrate the progress.

GERMANY.

In the empire of Germany (Confederation) there is no general legal status of the church; each state of the confederation has its own laws relating to religion. In Prussia the Lutheran faith is the state religion. The state, however, contributes to the support of the Catholic Church as well, and practically there is no difference made. In Bavaria the opposite state of things exists, the Catholic being the state religion; but there also the state aids both confessions, and so through all the German states.

Everywhere in Germany the state assists towards the support of both Catholic and Protestant churches. The Jewish religion is recognized, but receives no state support, except in Baden, where it is on an equal footing, in that regard, with the Christian creeds. Members of the Jewish faith are excluded from high office or promotion in the army. As regards the members of any Christian confession or sect, no distinction is made; the highest offices are open to all alike.

In July, 1869, the North German Reichstag passed the following law, which by the law of March 21, 1879, became a part of the German constitution: "All disabilities arising from differences in creed and affecting civil rights are hereby removed. Especially the ability to hold representative office in communal or legislative bodies and to occupy public office shall be entirely independent of religious belief."

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Prior to the dissolution of the ancient German Empire in 1806, the struggle was not for religious liberty, but between crown and papacy. It needs, for clearer understanding, to be stated that since the times of the Ferdinands it has been an

adopted policy that the state should be a bulwark of the Roman Catholic Church. The church used its authority without stint. Nothing, of course, was said about liberty, or even toleration, and, in political life even, Protestants were under the ban of the empire and debarred from holding public office. In the reign of Emperor Joseph II. the dogma of the Ferdinands was reversed, so that it was held that the church was the bulwark of the state "Church" was widened in its meaning, so as to include the Protestant and Jewish religions. By the toleration edict, dated Oct. 13, 1781, was granted the free exercise of those religions. Under the reign of Joseph II., Protestant churches were organized in Austria-Hungary, but there grew up the Polizeistaat (state subject to the domination of the police as opposed to Rechtsstaat) which remains to the present day. He believed in the supreme power of the state, and interposed without hesitation in ecclesiastical affairs. He had catechisms prepared for the several confessions, revised breviaries, and presented the number of candles to be used during church service. When he died, the power and authority of the police, not only in political relations, but also in church affairs, remained. Nearly all religious disputes which now come up arise from a desire to thwart the police in their meddling and the government in its effort to justify this meddling. By the concordat of August 18, 1855, the Catholic Church was successful in putting an end to the supreme power of the state, and it and the state became two factors, with equal rights and privileges, each sovereign in its sphere. The partial character of this agreement made action necessary for other confessions, and on April 8, 1861, was passed a law by which Lutherans and Calvinists were granted complete freedom of belief, all the rights of self-management, and perfect political equality with the Catholics. The law, however, ordains that at the head of these Lutheran and Calvinistic churches shall stand a supreme ecclesiastic council, the members of which are appointed by the emperor and are real state officials. Edicts of the council have the force of laws only when they are signed, "The Royal Imperial Supreme Ecclesiastical Council." While, therefore, the Catholics had succeeded in avoiding the offensive police supervision, the two "Evangelical" churches were obliged to remain under the adverse discrimination.

In the year 1874 a law was passed in accordance with which

the state could recognize as a religious society any religious sect not already recognized by existing laws. The present situation of religious liberty in Austria may be stated thus: Those recognized are:

(*a*) The Roman Catholic Church;
(*b*) The Lutheran and the Calvinistic Church;
(*c*) The Greek Church;
(*d*) The Jewish Religion;
(*e*) The Mohammedan Religion (but only in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The Catholic Church has the pre-eminence of a public institution privileged by the state; the others are private institutions entitled to equal protection. The Old Catholics have profited by the law of 1874, and have their own bishops and the protection of the state.

Intolerance is shown toward the small Christian sects, as there is not a word about them in the fundamental law, and they are therefore at the mercy of the police. The weak Methodist and Baptist congregations, scattered here and there, live a life of continual struggle with the police. Last December a Methodist congregation was broken up in Vienna because they worshipped in a mission hall without having obtained recognition as a religious body from the state. The imperial royal police authorities acted in conjunction with the municipal authorities and suppressed, because an unrecognized religious society had articles of belief which involved the depreciation of, and contempt for, a legally recognized church, viz., the Catholic Church.

Hungary seems on the point of proclaiming the Cavour doctrine of "a free church in a free state." The Catholic Church will probably not yield until some party in parliament raises the cry of the secularization of ecclesiastical property. Then it may yield, for it controls immense riches.

A Vienna correspondent telegraphs: "The Hungarian primate publishes the bishops' memorandum addressed to the government on the present church-policy question, and the address to the emperor on the same subject. In the first lines of the latter, the bishops implore the monarch's protection for the "holiest interests of the state." The government, they say, has come forward with a programme of church policy which, if it becomes a reality, will overthrow the century-old institutions

of the country, will expose to endless dangers and difficulties millions of his majesty's faithful subjects, and will shake to their foundations the pillars of the church, which is one of the strongholds of the state. The ex-premier, Kolman Tisza, has just delivered a speech in which he declared that never, not even before the Reformation, had Hungary allowed the pope to dictate to it what laws the Hungarians were to obey, or what sort of laws Hungarian legislators might be allowed to introduce.

In the Reichstag, November, 1892, the Liberals demanded the establishment of a compulsory and universal civil marriage and the registration of births and marriages. Hungarian law and custom declare that boys born of mixed marriages are to be baptized in the faith of their fathers, and girls in the faith of their mothers. The priest or pastor who baptized was to register the birth and notify the other side. The Catholic priests refused to give information to the Protestant clergymen. The ministry determined to recommend a general registration of births by the state, and the free practice of all religions, including the Jewish. Up to this time, Jewish creed and service have been only tolerated by the state.*

* A telegram to the *London News* from Vienna, in June last, said: "In the Hungarian Reichstag the two bills affecting church policy were laid before the House to-day. The Minister of the Interior presented the bill for the establishment of civil registers, and the Minister of Public Worship that on the emancipation of the Jews. The sanction of the emperor to both these bills was signed on the 23d March. Among the interesting details of the bill on the civil registers is the rule that no Catholic priest, Protestant clergyman, nor rabbi will be allowed to keep the registers. These may be introduced gradually, but before the end of 1894 the law must have been enforced throughout the country. The bill to emancipate the Jews declares in its first paragraph the Israelite religion to be a legally recognized religion. The paragraphs in the law of 1868 referring to converts from the Jewish to the Christian faith are now extended to proselytes from the Christian to the Jewish faith. The preamble to the bill shows clearly by what a liberal spirit the whole church policy of the present government is dictated. The law of 1867 declares the Jewish inhabitants of Hungary to have equal rights with the Christians, but it does not by a word allude to the Jewish religion as such. The Israelite confession has an officially sanctioned organization, and its registers are accepted by the government as legal documents. It cannot therefore be said to stand outside the law. Still, there is not a single law which recognizes the Jewish religion as a lawful confession. The preamble says it is high time that the state should receive the 700,000 Jewish compatriots on equal terms with the others. The new

ITALY.

No more remarkable political change has occurred in this century than the incorporation of the pontifical states into the kingdom of Italy. Nothing less probable has taken place than the general concurrence of opinion that at Rome, as elsewhere, should be recognized the right of the governed to have a voice in the choice of their government. The various independent states of Italy have been incorporated into one kingdom by the will of the people, so far as that wish can be ascertained by the process of a *plebiscite.* "The people of the Roman states, finding that no civil reforms for securing their liberties could be obtained, have, in the exercise of their rights as freemen and Christians, opposed their doctrine of *possumus* to that of the *non-possumus* of the pope."* Cavour justified the unification of Italy partly on the ground that all states possessed the right of choosing the government which they thought most expedient for themselves, and that all attempts at obtaining good government for the people had been tried in vain with the papacy and the kingdom of the two Sicilies. The immediate consequence of the absorption of all Italy into one government has been the establishment of Rome as the capital of the new kingdom.

The loss of the temporal power of the pope necessitated, it was thought by those who accomplished that great event, a new arrangement with respect to the papacy, both with regard to the substantive and separate *status* of the pope, and the relative and, so to speak, mixed *status* of this great religious Latin power with regard both to the kingdom of Italy and also to those other states of Christendom which acknowledge, with more or fewer,

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law abolishes the present facilities of Christianizing Jews at any age without any conditions. Only when a Jewish youth or girl is eighteen, or a Jewish girl marries, can they be christened. The paragraph which refers to conversion from Christianity to the Jewish faith is very important also. This was formerly an impossibility in Hungary. Many Hungarian subjects became Jews in foreign countries, married and had children, and when they returned to Hungary their conversion was not acknowledged, the marriage was not valid, and the children were illegitimate.

"The two ministers who brought out these two liberal bills received enthusiastic ovations to-day from the majority of the House."

* 2 Phillimore, p. 469.

greater or less, limitations, his spiritual authority over their territories.* The pope and many of his followers maintain that no part of the territory has ceased *de jure* to belong to him, and in 1860 he issued a bull of excommunication against all persons who had taken part in despoiling the Holy See of the patrimony of St. Peter. The *brutum fulmen* is as little regarded as the bull of his predecessor, Alexander VI., in 1493, making a partition of new discoveries of land between Spain and Portugal.

A constitution of the kingdom of Italy was given in Turin, March 4, 1848, and has been promulgated in other provinces as successively added thereto. Article 1 declares, "The apostolical and Roman Catholic religion is the sole religion of the state. The other cults now existing are tolerated in conformity with the laws." Other cults, not existing at the date, are equally tolerated with those named. By Article 140 of the penal code, "Whoever, to offend one of the cults admitted in the state, hinders or disturbs the exercise of religious functions or ceremonies, shall be punished with imprisonment up to three months, and by a fine of from fifty to five hundred lire." It will be observed that the code does not name the state church, but puts all cults on the same level. To the article the editor adds an important note: "The time of religious excesses is past; no religion can be imposed, and therefore the law defends the respect paid to all religions and to those professing them." The constitution of 1848 says, "Bibles, catechisms, liturgical and prayer books, shall not be printed without the previous permission of the bishop;" but this is now a dead letter. The fullest liberty to enter Italy is granted to all denominations. Ministers of every cult are free to go anywhere and to preach according to their creeds, and colporteurs to distribute Bibles and other publications, and when interfered with the offenders are punished. Guards are sent to protect religious services, which are advertised freely upon the bulletin-boards or otherwise. The dead are buried in municipal cemeteries, or special cemeteries are provided at public expense. Public hospitals are equally open to the sick, without regard to sect, who can be visited freely by their pastors or friends. This Alliance cannot but recall with liveliest satisfaction King Humbert's cordial telegram to the body when in session in Florence

* 2 Phillimore, 472.

in 1891. Now, in Italy there are no theological chairs in the universities, no chaplains in army or navy, no exemptions from military service granted to those who are training in papal seminaries for the priesthood. Within the memory of many there was not a single Protestant church inside the walls of Rome. The Hon. George P. Marsh, our minister to Italy, had his copy of the Bible taken from him by the custom-house officials of the papal states when he crossed the border. Now, in Rome, there are four churches for English-speaking people, and seven where the gospel is preached in Italian. In Florence there are seven churches where the Italian language is spoken, six others where other languages are used, and the Waldensian Theological Seminary. In Naples, Milan, Venice, Bari, and other cities, churches have been organized and worship is legalized and protected. The pope has ceased to be a *de facto* sovereign, though, according to the Italian Statute of Papal Guarantees, he retains sovereignty for certain purposes, without territory, and is allowed to receive diplomatic agencies from foreign states, and to send such to them. The papal legates or nuncios are received by Catholic governments and act as deans of the *corps diplomatique*. By other provisions of this unilateral arrangement—for the pope treats it with contempt—a large income and various residences are allotted to him. In matters of spiritual and ecclesiastical discipline there is to be no interference of the civil power; on the other hand, no coercive jurisdiction is conceded to the spiritual authority, and all acts done by that authority contrary to the laws of the state or injurious to the rights of individuals are null, and, in certain cases, may be punishable by the penal laws.*

TURKEY.

The interest which this empire excites, politically and religiously, in Europe and America, must be my excuse for giving a full reply to some inquiries which were propounded to a gentleman in Constantinople, than whom no one is more respected or more capable of giving authentic information.

As to "the nexus between the religion and the government." So far as Moslems are concerned, the religion and the government are all one and the same thing. Abdul Hamid II. is caliph,

* 2 Phillimore, 473-4.

and the law of the empire is that based on the Koran and the Traditions. The first object of the government is to support and defend the religion. This is true in practice as well as in theory. For Moslems there is no religious liberty. No Moslem has a right to change his religion, and it is impossible for the caliph to repeal the law of the Prophet that renegades must be put to death. Abdul Medjid promised Lord Stratford that the law should remain in abeyance, but his promise does not bind the present caliph. The religious officials are government officials, and religious expenses are paid by the government. Mosques are built by the caliph, by private individuals, or by communities, and have endowments from those who build them, which are under the control of a special government administration, and the revenues of which keep the buildings in repair and support the officials connected with them, i.e., the *muezzins* and imams. The imams also receive fees for various duties. The chief religious official is the Sheik-ul-Islam, who ranks as a cabinet minister, a sort of attorney-general. He holds his office like other ministers, at the will of the caliph or sultan. While the government is strictly a Mohammedan government, the existence of a large non-Moslem population in the empire, and the relations with Christian powers, have forced the caliph to make special provisions for the government of his unbelieving subjects (his rayahs, or flocks, as they are called). At first, and until within some sixty years, this non-Mussulman administration was as strictly religious as the other. Each religion was an organized *imperium in imperio*, of which the patriarch, or for the Jews the Haham Berchi, was the civil and religious head, and it was through these officials and hierarchies that the caliph ruled the Armenians, Greeks, and Jews. I suppose that Mohammed II. adopted this plan partly because he found these organizations existing, partly because it enabled him to concentrate all power at Constantinople, and partly because it interfered less than any other plan with the strictly Moslem character of his empire.

During the last sixty years the attempt has been made to establish a general civil administration for all civil affairs, to take away all civil authority from the patriarchs, and to bring all subjects of the sultan under the direct and immediate control of the government. In theory this means to make Moslems and non-Moslems equal before the law in all civil affairs. In practice it

means the destruction of all privileges guaranteed to Christians by ancient churches, while the Moslem retains all his original rights. It does not in practice modify the fact that this is a government of Moslems, by Moslems, and for Moslems.

"What are the rights, immunities, and privileges of the non-Moslem subjects of the sultan, and under what disabilities do they lie?"

Whatever rights the non-Moslem subjects of the sultan have rest upon the principle laid down in the Koran, ix. 13, and upon the firmans or berats given to the chiefs of the communities by the sultans during the last four hundred and forty years, upon imperial decrees issued at various times and upon treaties made by Turkey with the Christian powers.

A patriarch is nominated by his church but appointed by the sultan, and receives from him a berat which enumerates the rights and privileges given to him and his people. Of late years these berats have always led to serious conflicts of interest—the Porte seeking to reduce the authority of the patriarch, and the Christians insisting that all ancient rights be maintained—and the European powers intervene more or less vigorously. The Greeks have held the ground much more successfully than the Armenians, but the patriarchs have practically lost most of their civil authority. The famous Hatt-i-Houmayam of 1856 is a good specimen of an imperial decree. The article on religious liberty is, "As all religions are freely professed in my dominions, none of my subjects shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion he professes, nor shall he be molested in the exercise of it."

Aali Pacha in 1864, in a dispatch to the Turkish minister in London, explained that this "gave each one the right to profess his religion and its worship. No law forbids the entrance into Turkey of any sect of Christians. They are not hindered in any acts of worship. All religions erect their temples and have full liberty to carry out their external forms and public ceremonies. The sacred books of all religions may be printed and published in different parts of the empire." But this does not include the right of proselytism. "The principle of religious intolerance cannot in our eyes be reconciled with public aggression against any religion." The treaty of Paris took note of the imperial decree. The treaty of Berlin expressly guarantees the

right of full freedom of worship to the Christians in Turkey, and in the treaty of Kinardji Russia acquired a sort of protectorate over them. By custom France protects the Catholics, Russia the Orthodox, and England the Protestants. All the Christian powers exercise a sort of protectorate over all the Christians, and actually interfere from time to time in their interest. The Christians of Turkey are not in any sense on an equality with the Moslems, and they are worse off now than they were twenty-five years ago. It is very difficult to obtain permission to put up a church, and Christian schools are hindered in every possible way. The Armenians are suffering more at the hands of the government now than any other nationality, but this is political rather than religious persecution, if such a distinction can be made when the Armenians only demand that they may have equal rights in civil affairs with the Moslems.

The rights of foreigners in Turkey, whether religious or civil, rest upon treaties, especially upon the old treaties called the Capitulations (because they were divided into *capita* or chapters), and upon long-established usages which have acquired the force of laws. Great efforts have been made of late years by the Turks to do away with these rights, and to some extent they have been curtailed by persistent violations of them by the Turks, which the European powers have been too jealous of each other to unite against. Special provision is made in these treaties for the freedom of schools and religious establishments from Turkish interference, and generally of the property of foreigners from the jurisdiction of Turkish law. Until within a few years American missionaries have seldom been molested in any way by the government, and the persecution of their converts came from the Christians and not from the Moslems; but of late years the Turks have come to fear their general influence in enlightening the people, and have shown their hostility by closing schools, arresting missionaries, burning their property, preventing the sale of religious books, etc., in violation of established treaty rights. In general the spirit of the government under the present sultan is aggressively Mohammedan and antichristian.

JAPAN AND CHINA.

An officer of a foreign mission board says: "In Japan our missionaries enjoy, as I understand, entire freedom, both under

the laws and by consent of the people. In China the edicts of the emperor guarantee their protection, but the fanaticism of the people subjects them to persecution frequently quite severe. So far as the damage can be atoned for by money payments, the government has shown willingness to make reparation."

MEXICO.

By the constitution church and state are separated entirely, and the congress is prohibited from making laws establishing or prohibiting any religion. No church is supported, either in whole or in part, from public revenues, and there is a constitutional prohibition against the acquisition of property by religious institutions, excepting only edifices destined immediately and directly to the service or object of the institution. There is, however, a subsequent statute by which it is declared that "the state exercises authority over all of them in that which relates to the preservation of public order and to the observance of the institutions." The clergy enjoy no special civil privileges and are debarred from holding any civil office. There is no restriction upon the establishment of churches, but the meetings must be held within four walls, and the house must be registered as dedicated to public worship. There are no restrictions upon preaching the gospel, except that, in some of the states of the republic, a minister pays a tax on his profession. The circulation of the Scriptures is unmolested. A missionary says: "We have religious liberty, not mere toleration. President Diaz, giving me a letter to the governor of a state, wrote to him: 'These gospel ministers are our friends (meaning the liberal party); they seek to elevate and Christianize our country without meddling in politics.'"

SPAIN.

We are so accustomed to associate Spain with religious intolerance and the Inquisition that we sometimes forget that no country has, at times, more strenuously resisted the aggressions of Rome. Passing over all that occurred prior to this century, it may be of interest to recall the historical fact that when Queen Isabella, in 1834, succeeded to the throne the pope declined to rccognize her, maintaining in substance the old papal claim of interference in the political and civil affairs of an independent

nation. The consequence was that political relations between Spain and Rome were broken off. Many episcopal sees becoming vacant, the new bishops were nominated by the Spanish government. It was on this point that the Spanish monarchs for many years had asserted their ecclesiastical independence and maintained the nomination of bishops as an unquestionable prerogative of the crown. In 1851 a concordat was concluded on terms more favorable to the Roman See. "The Roman Catholic apostolic religion, to the exclusion of every other form of worship, is to have the rights and prerogatives which belong to it according to the laws of God and the sacred canons." In 1873, during the republic, absolute separation of church and state was a government measure. Freedom of religion is the most conclusive test of free institutions, of civil liberty. The constitution of 1876, which is still in existence, has this article: "XI. The Catholic Apostolic Roman Catholic religion is that of the state. The nation obliges itself to maintain the worship and its ministers. No person shall be molested in the territory of Spain for his religious opinions, nor for the exercise of his particular worship, saving the respect due to Christian morality. Nevertheless, no other ceremonies nor manifestations in public will be permitted than those of the religion of state." This clause, tolerating dissent from the national church, is ambiguous and susceptible of an oppressive interpretation. With a reactionary or ultramontane ministry very limited liberty of worship might be allowed. With the increasing liberal opinion in the Peninsula Bibles and religious literature are exposed for sale, and Protestant churches have been established without interference. During the past winter there has been a pertinent illustration of the elasticity or ambiguousness of the term "manifestations." Twenty thousand pounds were raised in Great Britain to build a church, school, and parsonage in Madrid. The house was built, but the authorities withheld a certificate authorizing the opening because of a violent Catholic agitation which had been gotten up. Archbishops, bishops, duchesses, marchionesses, countesses, and others, by petition and personal deputations, protested against the contemplated opening. Señor Sagasta finally declared that the government could not interfere with the constitutional right which the Protestants had to open the church, after having complied with all legal requirements. The adverse clerical and

Catholic influences became more excited and virulent, and the liberal government has felt compelled, in part, to yield to bigotry and intolerance. Protestant churches are made to take down exterior signs of their faith, such as crosses and inscriptions, and no authorization will be given for building Protestant places of worship, if they take the shape or outward appearance of a church or chapel.

FRANCE.

The history of the Gallican church is one of the most interesting chapters in ecclesiastical history. M. Fleury, about 1690, composed a discourse full of information, "*sur les Libertés de l'Église gallicane.*" Other writers recite the efforts to maintain the independent substantive rights of the native episcopacy, and to confine the primacy of the pope to the definite object of upholding the visible unity of the Roman church. The struggles of the Gallican church in behalf of the independence of princes and the limitation of papal authority by canons and councils were memorable and long-continued. France asserted courageously her freedom from foreign control in both temporal and spiritual matters, and in 1762, by a decree of the parliament, suppressed the Order of the Jesuits. By the Declaration of Rights of 1789 no one could be molested for his religion. It is not necessary to give the details of the varied relations between France and the pope during this eventful century. The outcome, as embodied in the French law of to-day, may be stated in general terms.

In France all churches and sects are equal under the law. There are, however, only three creeds which are recognized by the state, viz., Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. All other creeds or religious denominations must apply for permission to open places of worship. The law recognizes and proclaims absolute religious liberty, and this liberty exists with reference to the right of holding or not holding any religious opinion. But concerning the right of practising publicly any other creed except the three which are recognized, it does not exist. Permission may or may not be granted in such cases. The regular ministers of the three recognized creeds are paid from appropriations voted every year by the Chambers. A large minority always votes against this appropriation. In the "*budget des cultes*" for 1891, the Catholics received 45,067,003 francs; the Protestants, 1,125,400 francs. The three

creeds receive, besides, from the French government the use of the churches and other religious buildings, most of which belong to the state, and also subventions "*pour construction et reparation de temples.*" These buildings are exempt from taxation. This support is given on condition that no bull, decree, proclamation, or order emanating from the superior religious power will be published in France without permission of the government, and that all clergymen will obey the law and confine themselves exclusively to their religious duties without interfering with politics. Usually the government does not interfere with the affairs of any of the churches; but as the police of all religious establishments is entirely in its hands, it can exercise, and does exercise occasionally, a strong pressure on the members of the clergy. Archbishops, bishops, and vicars are appointed by the government with the consent of the pope. The bishops appoint the *curés* with the consent of the government. No sect or church has any privileges or preferences in civil offices or schools. The ministers of the recognized creeds have, however, certain privileges which are denied to other ministers. They are exempt from jury service. The high officials of the three creeds, when charged with any offence, are tried by the supreme courts. They cannot be prosecuted for offences committed by them in the exercise of their religious ministry without the consent of the council of state. On the other hand, no clergyman can be mayor or alderman in his own parish. Bishops, archbishops, and vicars cannot be elected to the Chambers in the district wherein they perform their religious ministry. The cults not recognized are subject to the law for public meetings and associations. No legal disabilities attach to any person or class of persons because of their religious opinions, but, as late as November last, a witness was fined 500 francs for refusing to take an oath. He was not permitted to affirm.

COLOMBIA, SOUTH AMERICA.

A gentleman, several years a resident, in official position, furnishes this statement: "The Republic of Colombia is essentially Roman Catholic. The two historical parties are styled respectively Conservative and Liberal. The former is the church party with all that name implies. The latter is not strictly an anti-church party—its members being as purely Roman Catholic in their

sympathies as are their Conservative opponents. But while the Conservatives would make the foundation of the republic the church, the Liberals would entirely destroy any relation whatever between the church and the state. The Liberals were in power from 1861 to 1886, and during all that time complete separation was the rule. The religious orders were generally abolished and their properties confiscated. Many banishments followed, especially of Jesuits, who were all expelled. Marriage was civil by law. After the revolution of 1886, the Conservatives and a fraction of the Liberals, under the name of Independents, formed a new party styled the Nationalist, and now govern the country. By the new constitution of 1886, Roman Catholicism was made the state religion and declared to be under the special protection of the government. Shortly after, a concordat with the Holy See was made by the government. The Nationalists recalled the Jesuits, re-established the orders, and provided for church support. Civil marriage is not prohibited in terms, but a singular provision was made whereby when any one, married civilly, thereafter marries some one else ecclesiastically, the former marriage is *ipso facto* dissolved. By law and custom, others than those professing the Roman Catholic religion are tolerated. They are not encouraged, but are not interfered with. This comes partly by the desire to observe provisions of public treaties, but more from the marked tendency to fair and courteous treatment which characterizes the Colombian people. Protestantism has existed in the country for nearly forty years. The results achieved are comparatively small. Religion is by law taught in the public schools, and it is surprising to note how it permeates every class of the people and every enterprise. Charities abound under the auspices of the church and are generally well conducted. The general effect of the system is bad, and it is only necessary to refer to the history of the church in all ages and its influence upon the world's progress to discover the reasons for this opinion. Aside from the question of toleration, the country, so far as religion and mental progress are concerned, is in a past century, with no prospect of improvement until the broader-minded and more progressive principles of the Liberals are permitted to come into operation."

BRAZIL.

A missionary writes: "About two months after the republic was declared, in 1889, a few influential men (two of them prominent members of the provisional republican cabinet) induced the dictator to decree absolute separation of church and state, and religious liberty for all throughout Brazil. A temporary provision was made for the partial support of the Romish priests for the first year after the separation, but since the expiration of that period the government bears no part in their support and is absolutely separate from any and all religions. The laws guarantee perfect freedom of conscience and the exercise of all religions without distinction, putting all creeds upon the same footing. Secularization of cemeteries and civil mariages followed in quick succession the separation of church and state. Only civil marriage is recognized and legalized by the government."

RUSSIA.

The statements in reference to this country have been translated, rather freely, from the third volume of Beaulieu's *L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes.*

In oriental orthodoxy the ecclesiastical constitution tends to model itself on the political, just as the limits of the churches copy the limits of the state. Autocracy is the key to the history of the Russian church. If one wish to understand its career and constitution, he must never forget that it is a church of an autocratic state. Growing up under the shadow of unlimited power, the church owed it to itself to make like conditions of existence. One cannot conceive of a church entirely free where nothing is free. The jurisdiction of the patriarchate is coextensive with the limits of the empire. The holy synod of Russia is *en rapport* with the government. Like all other authority in the empire, it is nominated by the sovereign. The czar is represented by foreign writers as the head of his church, as a kind of national pope. Oriental orthodoxy acknowledges only one head, the Christ. Whatever power the government has over the church is exterior to the church. The emperor is rather master than the head of the hierarchy. The czar has no ecclesiastical character. His rights over the church arise from his civil power. He intervenes

in ecclesiastical affairs as the autocrat. There is, however, a growing intimacy of temporal power and of spiritual authority. The more intimate the union, the more strict the dependence of the church. The dependence is, in some respects, reciprocal. The supremacy of the state extends to the persons, the clergy, the ecclesiastical dignities, but not, as the power of the English parliament, to the doctrines and usages of the church. That the czar is practically the head of the church is a fact rather than of right. The supremacy has been resolutely proclaimed, and the church does not contest it. "Neither Moscow nor Petersburg has seen a laic body, as the British parliament, legislate with sovereign power over the church." While the imperial government has left to the church little liberty, it has taken much pains to disguise the dependence. If the czar has no ecclesiastical character, he has, in the estimation of the people, a religious character. Crowned by the church, he is, by the fact of unction, the defender of the church and the supreme representative of orthodoxy. The Russian clergy are generally not well educated. The parish priests are poorly paid. Until recently there was no "*budget des cultes.*" That of 1887 amounted to nearly eleven millions of roubles, of which the service "*des cultes étrangers*" was inscribed for the sum of 1,758,000 roubles. The rural clergy get but a small portion of the funds appropriated. The bureaucratic administration, the chancelleries, the higher dignitaries, absorb the most considerable portion of ecclesiastical revenues. In each parish the priest has the use of a piece of ground and some tithes. The principal resource of the inferior clergy is the perquisites of religious ceremonies. One of the most certain sources of income is the sale of wax candles. Regular traffic is often carried on for marriage or burial fees, and the rapacity of the clergy has furnished material for many popular stories.

In Russia there are many subjects who are not members of the Greek Church—Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Armenians, Mussulmans, and Buddhists. In England only one church or sect has an official position; the others are treated as inferiors. In Russia the government recognizes all cults, and is ready to tolerate, even to subvention, all, on the condition that they bend to the autocratic régime and do not encroach on the domain of the dominant church. The law accords not only liberty of individual conscience but of external worship as well. The tolerance is seeming rather

than real. Religious restrictions may spring from governmental policy or national mistrust, but they are none the less odious and tyrannous. In governmental language, all confessions not orthodox are called alien confessions. Whether persecution or restraint of worship come from religious fanaticism, or from patriotic fears, or national antipathy, is of little concern to the sufferer. Freedom to enjoy a foreign religion is limited to the person; "it is forbidden to all heterodox confessions to make recruits." Spiritual propagandism is disallowed. That is the exclusive prerogative of orthodoxy. The Russian who abandons the national faith becomes incapable of holding or inheriting property. Civil and military authorities are charged with the execution of the severe penalties of the law against those who quit the national faith. Liberty of conscience is a delusion, a snare, if one has not liberty to choose and cannot spread his creed. Russian missions are political enterprises, and soldiers and policemen are their bulwark.

In the light of what has been said, one may understand the Russian contention that antisemitism is less a religious than a social and political question. Superadded to national and religious hostility is race antipathy. The complicated legislation against the Jews is scattered in fifteen volumes and forms an inextricable chaos. The Jews are deprived of many essential rights. In some provinces to which they are confined they are not permitted to buy land. The law declares them incapable, except in a few cases, of all public functions. Legal and administrative restrictions follow them in private business, and in education they are oppressed with many discriminating disabilities. The harsh measures have the necessary effect of maintaining the Jews in their isolation and hatred, and of generating the characteristics for which they are punished.*

* Much light is thrown by historical precedents on Russia's conduct towards the Jews. In 1492, 300,000 Jews passed into exile from the land in which they were born, and carried with them the prosperity of the Castilian empire. The expulsion of the Moors from Spain, by Ferdinand and Isabella, and of the Huguenots from France, by Louis XIV., had unquestionably religious intolerance as their instigation, but apologists, then and since, vindicate the acts of cruelty by the assumption that the governments regarded the presence of these offensive persons as in some way dangerous to the public peace and welfare and to national unity. Denunciation of the czar for maltreating

The most marked inferiority of Russia among her sister-states of Europe is the defect of religious liberty. Freedom of conscience is the surest sign of intellectual development, of civil liberty, and it involves no conceivable peril to the state. One stroke of the imperial pen, one word from the czar, would put the great empire in sympathy with the spirit of the nineteenth century.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Church of England is a state church. The Archbishop of Canterbury, lately, in a speech of fierce opposition to disestablishment in Wales, said: "The national church was the nation itself, in its conscious, most thoughtful, most purposeful service to God and man." In its present form it was established in the reign of Edward VI. By the coronation oath, 1688, the sovereign swears to "maintain the Protestant reformed religion established by law." In 1705 a new clause was added to the oath by "An Act for securing the Church of England as by law established." The expression "established by law," many times repeated in the Journals and Acts of Parliament, conveys the fact that the organization and procedure of the church are regulated by state authority. Sir Thomas More was beheaded in 1535 because he was accused and convicted of denying the power of parliament to make the king supreme over the church, but the king, heirs and successors to the crown are, in 1893, to be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England. By authority of parliament, the "Thirty-nine Articles were imposed as the legally authorized form of faith, and the use of, and conformity to, the Book of Common Prayer are enjoined. By the same authority, episcopal sees and parishes are created, churches and chapels are erected, tithes are made compulsory charges for the support of the clergy, who are officers of the state, with their duties clearly defined by the state." Bishops are

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the Jews comes with ill grace from a republic which enacted "one of the most brutal laws ever passed in a civilized country." To prohibit Chinese immigration and the admixture of an alien race with our Caucasian population may have been a wise and politic measure. To punish illiterate Chinese, ignorant of our language and laws, with imprisonment and hard labor for one year, and forcible deportation for a failure to register, is a measure of national and religious bigotry which brings reproach upon our boasted civil and religious freedom.

invested with seats and legislative power in the House of Lords, and have their salaries fixed and then provided for from national property. In consequence of this relation between an establishment and the state, the sale of livings by parishioners is sanctioned, cemeteries are appanages to churchyards and serve as endowments for the clergy, and burial-grounds, provided at the public expense by taxes imposed on the rate-payers as a whole, are encumbered with restrictions and disabilities offensive to non-conformists. The colonies have outgrown much of the ecclesiastical legislation and polity of the mother-country. In them there are no establishments, and churches derive no support from public revenues. No legal disabilities attach to persons because of religious creed or church connection, and no civil privileges accrue from membership in a particular organization. State aid to religion has been abolished in Canada, South Australia, New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, New Zealand, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Honduras, Antigua, Grenada, the Mauritius, and South Africa.

With the Toleration Act of William and Mary, "exempting subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws," began a movement which, with many years of disappointment and delay, can have its logical result only in entire disestablishment. There is a long record of beneficent acts which persistent struggles have succeeded in effecting in England. Among a large number may be mentioned the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Catholic emancipation, admission of Jews to parliament, opening of the universities to dissenters, abolition of compulsory church rates and of church and sacramental tests for offices, opening governing bodies of schools to all denominations, removal of some of the ancient restrictions on burials, permitting the celebration of marriages and the registration of births, deaths, and marriages elsewhere than in connection with the church establishment, and disestablishment in Ireland.

Other measures of relief from statutory inequalities and uniform precedents of injustice are now living practical questions. Disestablishment in Wales and Scotland cannot be postponed very long. Irritating discriminations, connected with burial-grounds and cemeteries, inequalities in participation in the administration of justice in the country districts, monopoly by the clergymen of the parish of the control of national schools, ex-

clusion of Catholics from the offices of Lord Chancellor in England and Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, are among the remains of the intolerance begotten by a state church. There is no reason why any single sect which claims to be "national" should monopolize right and authority in the matter of law as well as gospel, or why "non-conformists" should suffer gross inequalities when contrasted with customs in vogue as affecting "churchmen." The law as to the celebration of marriages is a legal distinction which closely touches non-conformists and reminds them that in the eye of the law there is still a difference between members of the established church and members of the numerous dissenting communities. "A man and a woman who are of the Church of England, or who desire to be married according to its rites, may be married by one of its clergymen in the presence of only two witnesses, neither of whom need be an officer of the state. Not so of a man and a woman who are of a non-conforming body and desire to be married in the church of which they are members and by their own pastor. In their case an officer of the civil government, in the person of the local registrar of marriages, is required to be in attendance, otherwise the marriage is illegal. The Church of England clergymen can grant a certificate which will stand good as evidence of the marriage all the world over; but this privilege is denied to the minister of a non-conformist church, and when he celebrates a marriage the registrar must attend to witness it and issue the document which gives the marriage the stamp of legality." This enforced attendance of the registrar has long been a grievance with non-conformists. All distinctions between "the church" and dissent cannot cease until the establishment, the primal cause, is wiped from the statute-book and the civil government abstains from all attempted control over the consciences of men.

Privileged classes are always reluctant to yield or relax their grasp upon what gives them social, or financial, or ecclesiastical pre-eminence. It is discreditable to our civilization and Christianity that there was such prolonged resistance to a mitigation of the atrocious penal laws in force against a large body of fellow-Christians who adhered to the Roman communion. Ecclesiastical tyrannies seem more difficult of reform or dislodgment than any other wrongs. During the present session of parliament, a bill suspending permanent clerical appointments in the four

dioceses of the Church of England in Wales has encountered the hostility of the establishment and its friends, as if a gigantic wrong were attempted. The measure in its terms is purely secular. It stops no kind of religious work, but simply enacts that persons who may hereafter be nominated to any benefice or incumbency shall not thereby acquire any right to compensation in case of disestablishment. It is a bill simply to prevent the creation of vested interests, and yet it is met by the violent denunciations of political prelates, who are wrought into passion to preserve secular prerogatives.

The Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) enjoys the benefit of endowments determined and regulated by law, because it is a national state church, but differs in many particulars from the establishment in England and is far more self-governing. Its history furnishes a striking illustration of the inconsistencies and ineradicable wrongs of an establishment. More than two centuries ago, in 1662, two thousand of the clergy of the Church of England gave up their livings and went out to endure poverty and persecution, rather than signify their acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer as prescribed by the Act of Uniformity. Their quarrel was chiefly over questions of doctrine, and their protest was against what they regarded as the Romanizing of the church. Fifty years ago an act of sacrifice, out of which sprang the Free Church of Scotland, exhibited, perhaps, more moral greatness. Mr. Gladstone, writing of the Jubilee session, said: "The procession of May 18, 1843, when it set out from the assembly hall, and when its members gave up their goods and expectations for the sake of conscience, contributed a noble and heart-stirring spectacle, of which the glory belongs in the first instance to and must be the most precious inheritance of the Free Church; but it was entitled to excite, and did excite, the cordial and enthusiastic admiration of Christendom." Their protest was against the interference of the secular authority in spiritual things, against a decision of the civil courts that the settlement of a minister in a parish might be made against the protest of the people. The seceders held that the church was thus reduced to dependence on the state, which was inconsistent with what they regarded as "the crown rights of the church."* This organization of the

* Since writing the above, I have seen in the New York *Examiner* such

Free Church was logically a separation of the church from the state. "If the church is to know none but spiritual authorities, it must content itself with spiritual prerogatives and spiritual motives. It cannot take the pay of the state without taking also state control. If the church owns the sovereign of the state as its head, allows its bishops and chief pastors to be appointed by politicians, it is in fact only another aspect of the state." The Free Church of Scotland is a striking proof of the value and success of the religious motive, of the voluntary principle, as the sole support of a church. In 1843, 474 ministers, out of a total of 1203, seceded from the established church, leaving churches, endowments, colleges, schools, the prestige of civil connection, and flinging themselves on the good-will of the people. Manses were built, schools and colleges were erected, and a sustentation fund has been raised which insures for every Free Church minister an annual stipend of not less than $800. The 474 of the secession are now 1169; every institution of the religious life of the church has had marvellous growth, and the Free Church enters upon a new half-century with an income reckoned at $3,200,000, after having raised nearly $500,000 for missionary purposes. Still, with this record, the establishment clutches its special civil privileges as if they were a gift from heaven, and makes a vigor-

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a lucid statement of the principle that led to the disruption of the national church of Scotland that I prefer with it to enforce my own account:

"Two opposing theories had for many years been contending for the mastery: the one was the headship of Christ in all spiritual matters; the other, the supremacy of the state in temporal affairs. These principles, almost certain to come into collision sooner or later, did actually collide in the matter of patronage. The question agitated in the national church of Scotland for some years previous to the disruption was simply this: Whether patronage, that is, the right of a non-ecclesiastical person to appoint a minister to a vacant parish, could be construed as a right to force upon that parish a man to whose ministrations the people were opposed. An actual case arose that brought this question to the test of law. A minister was so forced upon a parish, and the presbytery were ordered by the civil court to ordain him. The assembly attempted to prevent the ordination by suspending the presbytery from their official functions. The civil courts again interfered and directed the ordination, which was performed. The ministers were then deposed by the assembly, but they appealed to the courts, the case went to the House of Lords and was there decided against the church. An application to the House of Commons for relief was denied by that body under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel."

ous and almost vindictive opposition to the election of the Grand Old Man from Midlothian.

UNITED STATES.

The Columbian Exposition celebrates not so much the bare fact of the discovery of America as the beneficent results to civilization and liberty which have come from that discovery, or have had their most substantial realization in that portion of America which is under the ægis of our constitution and our free institutions. The early settlement of America foreboded no good to human rights or a pure Christianity. For near two centuries the history of America presents few bright pages. Avarice, cruelty, superstition, persecution, slavery, disregard of divine law, forceful interference with rights of person and property, were far more frequent than the gentler virtues and respect for humanity and God. A trenchant writer says: "In a large and general way it would not be unfair to say that whatever has since 1620 been done, on either the North or the South American continent, has been successfully done just in so far as it has undone what the Columbus dispensation did." The discovery occurred contemporaneously with the great Protestant Reformation and the great political struggle between constitutional institutions and absolutism. It can hardly be disputed that for one hundred and fifty years after the discovery the whole weight of influence and seamanship and wealth resulting from that extraordinary event was thrown against religious and political freedom. The gold and silver were used without stint in the crusade against heretics. An enlightened Catholic calls the early European domination in the New World "a wild debauch of unmerciful brutality." *

The early emigrants to what is known as the United States brought with them naturally and necessarily the opinions and habits which were prevalent in the Old World. The government was from afar, by royally-appointed functionaries, and it was many years before self or local government was conceded to or exercised by the people. From exterior requirements, or by voluntary action, state churches existed in most of the colo-

* See paper of C. F. Adams in Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Society, Oct. 1892.

nies, and were continued in some of them even after the establishment of the Union under the federal constitution. Judge Story, in an oration on the second centennial anniversary of Salem, affirmed that the charter of Rhode Island, procured from Charles II. by Roger Williams, was "the first royal proclamation of religious liberty for man as man that the world had heard since Christianity had ascended the throne of the Cæsars." The judicial orator was sustained by Bancroft, the historian, who determined the historical position of Roger Williams as "the inaugurator of the new era of religious liberty."

The federal constitution, ratified by the states and thus becoming the supreme law of the land, declares that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." This clause, applicable solely to officers of the Union, excludes the establishment of any national religion, but was not satisfactory to the friends of religious liberty, and in the conventions of the several states called to act on the constitution the dissatisfaction took the form of suggesting amendments which would give ampler security. The First Congress, in response to demands, proposed to the states what became the first amendment, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." "The United States was the first example in history of a government deliberately depriving itself of all legislative control over religion." Bishop Coxe, of western New York, voiced the universal American sentiment when he said, "I devoutly thank God an ecclesiastical establishment is an impossibility." It should be borne in mind that these provisions apply only within the extent of the jurisdiction of the federal government. The subject of religious legislation is taken out of the powers of that government, but a state is not prohibited by that instrument from establishing a religion by law. In fact some of the states were slow in removing the last vestiges of control over religious belief. President Wolsey describes Dr. Dwight and Dr. Beecher as being filled with dark forebodings when the last traces of state religion in Connecticut were destroyed. The established religion remained in Massachusetts until 1834, and, with obstinate persistency, struggled to sustain itself by universal taxation, long after other states had rid themselves of such tyranny. To the last moment of the

last legislative debate, conservatives were intent on sustaining the old régime. The most memorable speech in its defence was made by Alexander H. Everett, who based his argument on the ground of educational necessity.* Nearly all the state constitutions now contain "guarantees of full religious liberty within the limits of public peace and order. And thus it may be regarded as the American theory that church and state should be separate and distinct, each independent in its own sphere, yet not hostile, but equally interested in public morality and national prosperity, the state protecting the church by law, the church self-supporting and self-governing, and strengthening the moral foundations of the state." † This separation is not demanded as "the policy of our republic, but as a principle; not a variable matter of expediency, but of unalterable and universal right. Honorable as is the record of federal and state governments in the recognition and guarantee of religious liberty, yet it would be criminally unwise to omit sleepless vigilance or to regard the victory as finally and irrevocably won. Attempts are occasionally made to amend our constitution by religious enactments. Some of the states exclude atheists and preachers from civil offices. Some make belief in Divinity a condition of bearing testimony in court. In municipal governments sectarian appropriations are common, and our whole free-school system is imperilled by a demand for the support of parochial schools from state revenues.‡ It seems of vital importance, as guarding our liberties, that the XVI. Amendment to the federal constitution, proposed by the "National League for the Protection of American Institutions," should be adopted: "No state shall pass any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibit-

* Hague's Life Notes, 139.

† Schaff's Progress of Religious Freedom, 82.

‡ A Catholic writer in the New York *Sun* of August 25 says:

"When the pope's letter to Cardinal Gibbons was published, the Catholic world understood its meaning. Abroad they read the letter just as we did, as this quotation from the *Bien Public* of Ghent, July 4, will clearly establish:

"'It follows [from the pope's letter] that the decrees of the Plenary Council of Baltimore constitute the rule to be followed always in the matter of schools, and therefore that the denominational school instruction, penetrated by religion and based on religion, is the only one that answers the needs of souls, the only one the church approves, the only one that really merits the confidence of Christian families.'"

he free exercise thereof, or use its property or credit, or any ey raised by taxation, or authorize either to be used, for the ose of founding, maintaining, or aiding, by appropriation, pay- t for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church, religious mination or religious society, or any institution, society, or rtaking which is wholly or in part under sectarian or eccle- ical control."

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE PROGRESS OF THE RACE.

By Bishop Charles H. Fowler, D.D., LL.D., of Minneapolis.

I. CHRISTIANITY EMBODIES RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

The infallible Book projects an equation in which God and love are balanced. Love is the only single word that defines God. His Son comes not to destroy but to save. In the exhaustless tide of his love he laid down his life for the sheep—no mention of wolves. Neither man nor angel shall fight for him. He sheathes Peter's sword, and he does not call for the twelve legions of angels. There is no pretext for restraints upon religious liberty in the utterance of Jesus. The Son makes free indeed. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. The church was three hundred years old before she lost the purity that was peaceable, or found either a motive or a weapon for coercion. Christianity set forth in biblical rather than ecclesiastical literature embodies religious liberty.

We have not to do with toleration. That is only of policy. It accepts what it does not want, but under the circumstances prefers to something worse. The sultan tolerates Christianity. Looking into the muzzles of the cannon of the Signatory Powers, he rather enjoys tolerating the *dogs*, and is half tempted to be one himself. Liberty is a principle, it is a new life. It is a life in its own limitations. It is enlarged being. It keeps within the rights of others. It is in society, not in solitude. Man must live in society. In the desert he is in a sling. His faculties wither and die. Sheep-herders become insane, prisoners in solitary confinement become imbecile. Liberty must take man on the plane of his normal being. It is impossible to reverse this current of life. Liberty then has to do with limitations, is under law To secure religious liberty it is only necessary to enlarge

your saints—make them large enough to comprehend their relations, large enough to break off all thongs.

II. RELIGIOUS LIBERTY HAS KEPT STEP WITH THE PROGRESS OF THE RACE.

It is a growth, it is not an invention. It is not a discovery. It is an evolution, seldom a revolution. One can usually tell when a boy wears a man's clothes. Sometimes he puts them on prematurely. He may seem to fill them, but there is always something in the way he wrinkles them or sticks through them that shows the boy. So the race comes to this enlargement, this religious enlargement, called religious liberty. It struggles forward irregularly, but makes heading. The Master started his church in its independent life, set it up in the business of character-building and race-building, with a perfect pattern for filling its wardrobe. It took four thousand years to pass from the fig-leaves to the seamless garment. But he who wanted to see humanity clothed and in its right mind wearied not, neither slumbered nor slept.

Intercourse is a great civilizer, enlarger. Look at the map of Europe. See its long and crooked coast line, its bays, inlets, streams. It is full of short cuts from everywhere to everywhere. This helped intercourse. This helped enlargement. Asia stretches in inaccessible planes and deserts. It is centuries behind Europe. The Aryans pouring down from the great table-land in central Asia flowed into Europe and its advantages, and into its climate, and into its history. In the families of Greeks, Italians, Germans, Slavs, and Celts it made much of its known history. Africa has fallen still further behind. Touching the Mediterranean it has unfolded some early and wonderful civilizations. But liberty has found its best development among the migrants from that old central table-land in the advantages of Europe. So there are continents and deserts, vast barriers in the mind itself, that require many migrations and many ages to master. Some solitary conviction, like an oasis, shows wonderful freshness and vigor. But on every hand stretches the desert. We cannot say that palm or alfalfa are not genuine, vigorous, and beautiful. But the site is small; no great race can dwell and multiply on that half-acre.

Love of liberty is a virtue, an acquisition, not an instinct. We all enjoy freedom from restraints and dictations. But liberty is self-government, that is, war against invasions by the lower propensities. It is picket duty against the animal in us. This virtue, like the race, matures slowly. You cannot put this enlargement, this self-government, this liberty, this religious liberty, upon a man like a cloak: you cannot fill him with it as you can fill a sack with wheat. It must grow up with the increase of his measurements. It must wind its rootlets into the invisible interstices between the fibres, between the cell-tissues of his intellect, of his spiritual nature. Take a Digger Indian from the Yosemite Valley and put him into Baldwin's locomotive works in Philadelphia, and you have not made an engineer or machinist of him. You may grow him up to it, but you cannot hoist him up to it. You cannot hoist men into religious liberty.

The gospel begets liberty. It quickens the spirit in man. God's live-giving Spirit is in his gospel. It liberates all the forces within. If they are kept down, you feel the shock and shiver of the earthquake. They must have vent. It was hard for John Knox to cry out in Scotland, hard for John Wesley to cry out in England. But it would have been harder not to, dangerous not to, fatal not to. Sooner or later these convictions unuttered burn up through a man, leaving him like a charred and blackened volcano. The gospel begets liberty.

If I wanted to run a despotism, I would establish a government church, appoint and pay the clergy. I would control the kind of gospel they should preach. The union of church and state is the shrewdest invention of Satan. In it he appears as an angel of light. The hierarch must be not a rebuker, but a manager. The leader of the host is thus armed with forces with which to quiet all rebukers.

III. RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IS A LATE FRUIT OF THE STALK OF HUMANITY.

Our hardest lesson to learn is "to let live." Driven out into the wilderness like the Puritans to find freedom of conscience, we drive everybody out of the wilderness who wants the same freedom cut after another pattern. There are wonderful pages in our

own history. When we landed on Plymouth Rock we changed ends with the cat-o'-nine-tails: we prefer the handle end. As late as 1800 in Massachusetts there were statutory penalties for towns that did not furnish good preaching. In our day some sections would have to lower the standard or go into bankruptcy. The Religious Freedom Act was not secured till 1811. Then in 1820, when it was proposed to put it into the constitution, it was rejected by an overwhelming vote. As late as 1835, some of you remember it well, there was for every able-bodied person a fine of ten shillings for three months' absence from church. The church found that law more profitable in the breaking than in the keeping. Applied here in this locality it would bring larger receipts than its Sunday fair. Even down to that same date, 1835, every person belonged to the oldest church in the town unless he could show that he had joined some other organization, and each was personally liable for the debts of the parish. It took even the Bostonians two hundred years to march from the gibbet of Mary Dyer on Boston Common in 1660 to an open witness-box for sceptics in a Boston court-room in 1860. These are some of the mementoes we brought with us from our journey through the dark ages—mementoes brought by our ancestors out of ancient heathenism, for persecution is the invention and product of heathenism.

Persecution was formulated by Augustine in his forced interpretation of that part of the parable about the feast. "Compel them to come in." Innocent the Third, whose very palace could have been floated in the sacred blood of the Albigenses and of the Waldenses, which he poured out like rivers, was hardly more responsible for all this crime against Christianity in the name of Christianity, than was old St. Augustine. This spirit beclouded all men's minds on this subject. Even Cromwell, England's greatest and most liberal ruler, and Milton, England's most majestic poet and most eloquent advocate for liberty, stood out against persecution, but excepted from their charity papists and prelates. Down to our very days come the bloody fringes of persecution. Much of our own century has been under the repressions of spiritual and political despotism. The great Reformation divided the seat of power. Emperors and kings resumed part of the power that had been seized by the pope. In the midst of

their strifes religious liberty made some advances. The gospel had a better chance. Sometimes it strengthened the Protestant empires and widened the way for liberty.

But as late as the beginning of our century the great societies called nations were all in the iron grip of despotism. England alone had a stable charter to her liberties, but this was chiefly on parchment. What the government granted by wholesale in the charter extorted by patriots and heroes was pilfered away in piecemeal by rotten-boroughs. Three hundred members were sent to parliament by one hundred and sixty voters, while great cities were unrepresented. With the exception of the infant republic in America founded on a compromise with slavery, this rotten-boroughed England was the only constitutional government known among men, the only place where religious liberty had even a nominal footing in constitutional rights. All the rest of the world was under the absolutism of despots who at any caprice could annul the most solemn pledges and turn loose bloody persecutions without an hour's warning, as Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes. Over much of Europe no man could pray without the consent of the pope. Not long ago the thumbscrews and the wheel and the iron virgin were the conservators of the public morals. Rulers taxed, robbed, conscripted, imprisoned, butchered, executed their subjects according to their whims.

Two great forces have culminated in our century to change much of this. One came from beneath, swelling up like the heaving breast of an earthquake, the other dropped from heaven like a thunderbolt. The first came into the moral convictions of the common people, securing free thought, free agency, and free salvation, and is known in history as John Wesley. The second came down upon the thrones of Europe like the breath of the destroying angel upon the host of Sennacherib and is known in history as Napoleon.

Napoleon came as Carlyle said, "on a providential errand to teach Europe that the tools belonged to those who could use them." He suggested unity for Germany and the consolidation of Italy. He gave constitutions to Spain, Westphalia, and Naples. He broke the charm that sanctified the temporal power of the pope. He trampled down the privileges of feudalism. Though he was a practical despot, he scattered the seeds of liberty over

Europe and made France the continental mother of constitutional governments. He gave Spain a constitution, but held her in his iron grasp till all her South American possessions burst from her paralyzed hand and sprang into republics.

The first efforts of Europe for liberty were beaten back by military forces at Waterloo. The pope and the Bourbons helped to finish the demolition. A French Bourbon crushed liberty in Spain. An Austrian Bourbon trampled it down in Italy. Prussia overrode the German states. Russia devoured Poland and subdued Hungary, yet the upheaving power of enlightened conscience made the uplift of the people certain. In the last forty years all Europe has become constitutional. Prussia has an authority above the Iron Chancellor and above William II. Austria, staggering from Magenta and Solferino, purchased loyalty by a constitution. The republic of Sardinia and the battle of Sadowa gave Italy unity and liberty. Spain dismissed her queen and seated her new king on a constitution. France is free, as free as it is possible to be under the enervating mildew of the confessional, and Great Britain—I like to say Great Britain—has purged herself from rotten-boroughs and from any prerogative offensive to the people.

Civil and religious liberty walk over Europe as if they owned it. The cells of the Inquisition are sealed, and Leo XIII., relieved of temporal power, receiving a princely salary from the Italian government, poses on the steps of St. Peter as a prisoner. Surely with this magnificent start we can hope for all things for religious liberty and progress.

The other great force that lifted up the English-speaking people in the interest of religious liberty started one third of a century earlier, and wrought with more silent, more divine, and more permanent agencies. It applied the simple word God to the Anglo-Saxon conscience, and created in English sense a permanent footing for the English government. Green, that great historian of the English people, tells us of Pitt's gifts, distresses, and foundation. He was a dude, a bombast, and an egotist, with only 200 pounds a year as cornet of horse. With no family or fortune back of him he surveyed the peril of England. The French had seized India. The Bourbon family under Spanish leadership imperilled England's continental interests and allies, pushing Frederick to the wall. The same family and faith

held this North American continent from the St. Lawrence to the Hudson and from the Hudson to the Ohio, so that English freedom and faith had only a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast from Boston to Baltimore. In this dire distress Pitt boldly proclaimed, "There is but one man in England that can save her, and I am that man." The king called him to the head of the government. He scorned the use of bribes, but planted himself on the moral sense and patriotism of the people, and they never failed him. All the wits ridiculed him, but the people said, "He can't be bribed," and stood by him, sometimes in spite of parliament and sometimes in spite of the king, who hated and feared him but could not spare him.

In one decade, by the sword of Clive he recaptured India; with money and men poured into the coffers and legions of Frederick he checked the game in Europe; and by the sword of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham he drove the French out of the valley of the Mississippi, saving this continent for better uses.

Now Green tells us that but for the moral reformation wrought by John Wesley and his followers Pitt would have had nothing upon which to stand, and would have been helpless in the great strife of modern times. But the breath of the Almighty, through the lips of John Wesley, quickened into life the moral convictions of the English nation, and in one decade saved the 260,000,000 of India for England, made possible the great German empire of to-day, and kept this continent for this republic. The three great Protestant nations that hold the balance of power on the earth, without whose consent not a soldier can lift his foot, and whose word makes it safe anywhere in the world to pray to God and worship him as we please, are magnificent trophies for religious liberty and for the little man of Epworth.

Surely we have much to hope for religious liberty and the progress of mankind; surely we are in that ascending highway described by the great apostle to the gentiles when his eagle eye swept over the course of our development, and he said, "The first man is of earth, earthy; the second man is the LORD from heaven." For we shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

IV. PROGRESS ENTHRONES OUR HIGHEST NATURE.

That is not progress that lowers a man's grade in the scale of being. Progress does not conform a man to the estate of a beast. Progress to be progress must place a man right-end up. Each individual has three natures—animal, intellectual, spiritual. All these strive for dominion. When the animal is in the saddle the man is ridden down to lower levels. It is not progress to have more unbridled appetites and more fierce passions. These must be subdued. The world has had long ages of this dominion. Now we are rising to a higher level. We are reaching an age of intelligence wherein the masses of the people have cultivated their intellects and are guided by their reason. This is a long way up. It is a magnificent age. For our minds we have such facts and feasts as beckoned to scholars never before. We send the living voice to our friends a thousand miles as easily as our mother's voice spanned the nursery. We speak round the globe and catch the clink and clatter of the copper hoofs of the returning lightning before our breath that utters the word has faded in the frosty air. We call back the voices of the dead; we stretch our measuring-tape along the diameter of the known universe so far that it would take our fastest express train, running a mile a minute twenty-four hours a day without stopping, on and on one hundred and fifty trillions of centuries to pass the length of that tape-line. We sweep round after yonder planets in their wide orbits with such careful and certain step that we can tell centuries in advance the time of crossing a given line within the twentieth part of a second. We can measure distances down to the millionth of an inch. With the spectroscope we can catch and analyze the materials that melted on distant stars thirty thousand years ago. We can almost smell the steaks the demigods cooked in those distant spheres three hundred centuries ago. We live in a great age. But as I stand on the summit of these achievements the ages roll together at my feet, and I see another age rising over the arc of the future. It is a spiritual age, in which the supreme authority of truth and of right shall be acknowledged, in which the sanctions of the law shall be found in rightness; when to feel obligation will guarantee obedience; when every man shall love his neighbor as himself, and good-will shall be universal. Toward this our

religious liberty is lifting us. This indicates the world's progress.

V. CHRISTIANITY IN ITS WORK ON CHARACTER MUST HAVE LIBERTY.

Ranke pronounced the passage "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," the greatest utterance that fell from the lips of our Lord. It covers the whole question of a state and a church, not united, not antagonistic, but parallel, each free to do its own work, reaping the benefits of the success of the other. Tertullian said in the second century, "It is not religious to force religion." It is in the nature of religion in its relations to the human mind that it must be free or be nothing. What I am compelled to do is not my action. Freedom is a necessary part of every moral act, without this liberty there could be no moral quality in any act; no moral government anywhere. Thus it has always happened that the freest ages have been the most exalted ages, the freest people the noblest people. Of all the peoples of Asia the Jews rank first. There are none even to compete with them. It is not by accident that their greatness is built upon their liberty. They chose a king, perhaps foolishly, but they chose him, and when they crowned him they placed the law above his crown. Their final appeal was, "To your tents, O Israel!" Their prophets had no power to rebuke and direct their kings. They demanded of Archelaus the release of prisoners and the reduction of taxes. The Roman proconsuls advised with them. Pilate crucified Jesus at the dictation of the people. They were the freest and greatest people of Asia.

Follow the tide of the great Reformation. It was accepted by Germany, England, and Holland. It was rejected by Spain, France, and Italy. These are six great constructive and destructive arguments demonstrating the power of religious liberty in exalting a people.

VI. RESTRAINTS UPON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ARE HARMFUL.

Persecution drives away prosperity. Torquemada, Spain's bloodiest inquisitor-general, made Spain a pauper. The hun-

dreds of thousands of her best citizens burned on her feast-days, tortured in her dungeons and inquisitions, and driven from her soil left many barren wastes and stopped many of her industries. Burning alive, breaking on the wheel, torturing to death are not the best uses for a state to make of her best, most intelligent, most industrious citizens or subjects. It is poor economy. It soon transformed Spain from the banker to the beggar of the nations.

The city of Bruges, seven miles from the North Sea, was noted for her great prosperity. Many of her citizens possessed marvellous fortunes. Her looms, her woollen goods, her laces, her products, won the admiration of the world. The queen of Philip the Fair of France cried out in surprise, "I have seen hundreds of women who have more appearance of queens than myself." Austrian bigotry reduced the city. The Duke of Alva made it necessary for the artists and merchants to flee to Antwerp and to England. Bruges sank into insignificance. Queen Elizabeth welcomed the colony of weavers from Flanders thus driven out by the bloody duke, and the great cloth industry was transferred to enrich free England. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. drove the silk-weavers from Paris to the fields east of London, with a new industry to enrich free England. The same revocation drove the diamond-polishers from Paris to Amsterdam, where that great industry thrives to-day to enrich free Holland. God follows with expressions of displeasure those who place restraints upon the broadest freedom of soul, the broadest religious liberty.

As further proof of this simple statement of divine disapproval, note the following facts, remembering that facts are God's arguments. Wherever intolerance has had dominions, the general intelligence has declined. Countries farthest from Roman Catholic influence, having the smallest per cent of adherents of that faith, the fewest priests, are highest in the scale of progress, highest in general intelligence; while countries most perfectly under the intolerant spirit of that faith and of its priests are lowest in the scale of progress, lowest in general intelligence. Compare Norway and Sweden, having 97 per cent of adult population able to read and write, with Spain, where the priest has more influence over public education than anywhere else in Europe, having only 26 per cent of adult population able to read

and write. Contrast Italy of 1862, under the priests and pope in educational matters, with Italy of 1890, under the government of Humbert, taking the schools from the control of the priests. In twenty-eight years, less than one generation, the per cent able to read advances from 36 to 52.

The most advanced Roman Catholic country in Europe is France, and the least advanced Protestant country in Europe is Holland. Yet Holland with 86 per cent able to read is ahead of France with 85 per cent.

Again, contrast the manufactures in Protestant and Catholic countries, stated in millions of pounds, for the year 1888, viz.: United States, 1443; United Kingdom, 820; Germany, 583; Sweden, 50; Norway, 19; Denmark, 26; Holland, 35; Australia, 41—total millions of pounds for Protestant nations, 3017. For Roman Catholic countries: France, 485; Russia (intolerant Greek), 363; Austria, 253; Italy, 121; Spain, 85; Portugal, 16; Belgium, 102—total, including Russia, 1425. Tolerant countries, £3,017,000,000; intolerant countries £1,425,000,000. Surely God makes intolerance pay heavily for its narrowness.

Again, the amount of help given by nature for carrying the burdens of mankind in the form of steam-power, expressed in horse-power, in 1888: United States, 14,500,000; United Kingdom, 9,200,000; Germany, 6,200,000; Scandinavia, 600,000.—total for tolerant nations, 30,500,000. Contrast this with the intolerant nations: France, 4,500,000; Russia, 2,300,000; Austria, 2,200,000; Italy, 800,000; Belgium, 800,000—total for intolerant nations, 10,600,000. It is no wonder that the great Protestant nations are forging ahead, when they are so liberated from their burdens and permitted to give themselves to the cultivation of their minds and to higher pursuits. These statistics concerning intelligence, manufactures, and steam-power are taken from "Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics," a Roman Catholic authority, so that we are the only people that can object to them. We are willing to accept the statements from this great book of martyrs in which nations are the victims. Following this divine logic of facts we repeat, "God follows with expressions of displeasure those who place restraints upon the broadest freedom of soul, the broadest religious liberty."

Go to South America, study her resources and products and faith. That is a great continent with more arable land than has

North America. South America is narrow in the frozen zones and wide in the temperate and torrid. North America is wide in the regions of ice and narrow in the productive climes. South America has a great table-land that carries her temperate belt to within ten degrees of the equator. She grows corn, oats, and wheat, with cotton and coffee, through a wider range of latitude than any other continent. She has vast resources of every valuable product and of every known nutriment. She has great mines of fabulous wealth and vast forests of coveted woods. The grand Chacca stretches with untold riches in these heavy and hard-grained woods, 600 miles wide and about 1500 miles long. South America is a mighty continent. God proposes some day to rear and feed a great nation and a high civilization on that soil. We are wedded to that continent by nature. Our ultimate destinies are one. We are balanced across the equator. Our seasons and products supplement each other. To-morrow, with railroads threading those valleys and the isthmus and swift steamers connecting our ports, we shall furnish alternate market and product. We shall pour our harvests into their winter, and they will pour their harvests into the lap of our winter, thus feeding each other on fresh and delicious products. Rocking to and fro with the sun over the equator we shall grow rich and strong together. South America is a great continent. But how is it to-day after three hundred and fifty years of occupation? Sailing up the La Plata, the Parana, and the Paraguay on a steamer freighted with brandies from France and furniture from New England, we met, 1500 miles from the coast, ocean-going craft freighted with quebracho and red axe-breaker—a hard, heavy wood that sinks in water and has a bitter taste—being carried to France and Germany by the 100,000 tons to be manufactured into brandy. Perhaps some of that very product was on our steamers coming home. It had travelled 15,000 miles because no one had the skill and appliances to manufacture it there. The furniture for the market in Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, had travelled more than 10,000 miles out and back because it could not be manufactured profitably, if at all, at home. We saw vast herds of cattle whose owners were strangers to the taste of butter or cheese. Why? We rode through the endless pampas, the best foundation for wheat known on earth, better and larger than Odessa or Dakota, whose pro-

prietors never saw wheat-bread. Why? I saw in the museums in Buenos Ayres copper axes, from the days of the Incas, that would carry an edge like steel; we cannot so handle copper, but the old natives could. Now they have lost the art, and all they can do with their copper ore is to carry it 9000 miles to somebody else's smelter. Why? I will tell you why. They have a religion for three hundred and fifty years without a competitor; persecution has kept the monopoly. As a natural consequence it has stagnated and become so corrupt and cruel that it has blasted the faith of men till they dare not trust the government or their fellows for protection, nor are they able to make the great business combinations so necessary to a high civilization. They need to remove all restraints on religious liberty. Give free and safe ingress to all the religions that wish to come. Let every man think and choose for himself; let the free grace of God have a fair chance to create a new moral sense and then men can trust each other, then the great industries can thrive and a new civilization be added to the trophies of a pure religion.

VII. GOD AND NATURE REVEAL BUT ONE LAW ON THIS SUBJECT, AND THAT IS THE LAW OF LIBERTY.

It may be that many crude results will be reached in the wild thinking on the great theme of God and destiny. Not a few will swing off into darkness. Apparent scepticism may increase. But all that is involved in freedom, in moral government, in character. Even God cannot build up a great character in man without taking large risk. Nothing costs so much as character, nothing is more valuable than liberty. There is majesty even in a lost soul, sheltered by his freedom, facing the awakened wrath of Almighty God, scarred by the thunderbolts of the retributions of sin, striding down the eternities defying God at every step, uncrowned but a monarch, a kinsman of the Eternal King. Such a soul publishes the omnipotence of liberty.

Such is the revolt of unregenerate mind against authority that liberty eventuates in many competing systems; but to this we do not object. The Frenchman in New York, failing to secure his special soup, said, "What a country is this, with two hundred religions and only one soup!" Yes, that is our business in this free land. We have passed the soup age. We have risen to the

great problems of destiny. We are wrestling with the supreme powers. We are on the table-land of awakened thought, contending with the gods. We are making and testing religions. We are in the noblest work that ever occupied an awakened mind. If Christianity cannot stand the test of competition, then she must give way for some other system that can. We ask no favors. If you have any pick or bar that can remove the rock of ages, bring it on. We ask you to do your worst. If you have a telescope that can resolve the star of Bethlehem, we pray you to bring it forward. We are going to sea for eternity. We do not wish to start on a raft that will go to pieces in the first dash of that everlasting tide. Some people who do not wish to bear the restraints of Christianity are talking about this recent Congress of Religions, as if Christianity had lost by the comparison. We wish to say that if she cannot stand this test of all tests, she has no right of way. No other religion has ever made such meetings possible. It is only through the broad liberty and intense intellectual activity created by Christianity that such gatherings are possible. We hail the gatherings, we welcome the comparisons, we are willing to abide by the results. It is not whether unregenerate men, preferring the unrebuked indulgence of their depraved propensities, shall prefer heathenism. Many believers in Christianity have not accepted its ruling power. That does not foredoom Christianity. That the rather honors it. The real question rises to the substance of the systems and to the character of the objects of worship. If any of these systems stand firmer against all sin, even the secretsins of the heart, are braver for righteousness, are more gentle, more careful for the poor and helpless, more merciful, cleaner in requirement and practice than Christianity; if Buddha or Brahma or any of the gods of heathenism with their loathsome and bloody services, with their deformed and dwarfed characters, can rise above the Infinite in majesty, in power, in purity, in righteousness, in justice, in mercy, in love, in all that can ennoble and elevate a people, then we confront a real question, and may have opened before us newer and wider possibilities. All that Christianity asks is a fair chance. Take off all restraints on religious thought and belief. Let the questions be settled by argument in the inner chamber of the soul, at the bar of the individual judgment: nowhere else can a real altar be established. Absolute freedom from coercion and in the light of

the freest competition Christianity makes her greatest conquests. Her deadliest foes are preoccupation and indifference. Turn on the search-light of awakened thought and there shall come but one verdict as from the contest on Carmel, as from the strife throughout all these centuries. The Lord, he is God. The Lord God Almighty reigns and shall forever reign.

CHRISTIAN UNION AND CO-OPERATION.

ORGANIC UNION: ITS REASONS AND PROSPECTS.

By Bishop A. Cleveland Coxe, D.D., LL.D., of Buffalo.

Our times are earnest and full of hope. Also the great enemy is very earnest, but the Lord fufils his promise, "lifting up a standard against him," in the evident renewal of zeal, activity, and godliness among those who are true of heart. And among the signs of the times which are the most encouraging we may name the spirit of restoration; a desire to repair what has proved insufficient in the Reformation, by a return to primitive Christianity. The era of restoration has come, with "restorers of paths to dwell in." We long for that visible unity, that organized union in effort, by which the Ante-Nicene believers triumphed in suffering and overcame the Cæsars.

As yet, however, believers who respect and love one another are not agreed how this blessed consummation is to be brought about. I think it is partly because many do not yet understand organic unity itself, nor see it in its true and practical light, as something which Christ himself demands of us, and hence as something which, when we really desire it, he knows how to restore to his divided family. It is my duty, by your invitation, to plead for this "organic unity," with the great disadvantage of doing so in the presence of learned and godly brethren who think it unattainable, and who honestly believe our organized forces of division and competition may be rendered harmless, if not beneficial, if only they may be carried on with less of rivalry, and in a kindly agreement to differ as to ways and means, or even in fundamental ideas of order and divine truth.

Now, were I called to state ideas of my own in the presence of such brethren, I should not be willing to do so. I am em-

boldened by the fact that I propose to state nothing but the views and convictions which were once universal among Christians. I plead for practical ideas, because they once were exemplified in the solid organic forces of a united church which published the truth effectually and prevailed over heathenism, because it confronted its adversaries as one body, with one faith, one baptism, and one Lord. All the evils we confess and deplore have resulted from the violation of this unity and the consequent development of sect. And such consequences are inseparable from perpetuated schism. The spirit of missions languishes and the work of missions becomes a self-stultified conflict of sects in the very presence of the heathen whom they attempt to convert. The gospel-trumpet gives forth an uncertain sound; and as in Japan at this moment, intelligent pagans exclaim, "We are ready to be converted to Christianity when you Christians agree in telling us what it is." Christ has not promised that the world shall believe in his own mission from the Father, in the face of a piebald variety of systems, all clamoring as loudly in conflict with one another as in proclaiming to heathens their irreconcilable differences in the name of truth and God's commandments.

Let me state what is meant by the organic unity for which I plead. Let me do so in the memorable words of our great Intercessor, addressed to his Father in heaven, at the sublime moment when he washed the disciples' feet, gave his new commandment of love, instituted the sacrament of their visible communion, and consecrated himself as a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. The communion of saints, as he ordained it and promised his Holy Spirit to bring it to pass, is thus defined:

> "That they all may be one
> As thou, Father, art in me,
> And I in thee,
> That they also may be one in us."

(1) The unity required of believers therefore admits of no divisions, but is that of a divine nature, the unity of the godhead. It means (2) a visible unity among men in the body; something which gives practical effect to the words which our Lord subjoins:

> "That the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

We are aided to a grasp of the divine idea of this visible unity,

what it appears to be and in what it consists, when St. Paul compares it to the fabric of a house, or again, even more forcibly, when he illustrates it by the living fabric of the human body, "fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth." How significant this figure is made when he describes this body in its vital functions: "The effectual working, in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love"! The same apostle is so possessed of this view of the precept that he enforces it in a detailed reference to the foot, the head, the eye, and all the members. And when he entreats that there be "no schism in the body," let us reflect how positively his exhortation excludes the objection that no such unity can be expected of believers. "I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together, in the same mind and in the same judgment." He proceeds in the same strain; and I must own before God that the indifference of "evangelical" Christians to these appeals of God's holy Word is a mystery to my mind as real, if not as stupendous, as that which the Roman religion presents in its contempt for the same apostle's teaching concerning "an unknown tongue" in the public worship of the church.

Now, in intellectual philosophy, I agree with worldly men that the unity on which St. Paul thus insists is not to be expected or conceived of. It is a spiritual effect of the Holy Spirit working in his own mighty way; a way of which the carnal mind has no conception, but which the grace of God has once effected among men of like passions with ourselves, and which, therefore, he is able to restore.

Take the simple fact recorded by the evangelist of what was effected by the first outpouring of the Spirit. "Then they that gladly received his word were baptized, and the same day were added about three thousand souls. And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship and in breaking of bread and in prayers." Again at a later day it is recorded: "The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul." Long afterwards we find this organic concord planted in Europe among St. Paul's beloved Philippians: "Standing fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the gospel." When a different spirit invaded the Corinthian church

how did the apostle treat it? He could only "partly believe it." He exclaims, "Is Christ divided?" I think nobody can read his impassioned objurgations without feeling that the existing emulations of "evangelical Christianity" in America are as palpably contrary to Scripture as are the delusive and essentially novel dogmas of the Roman religion which define unity as consisting in communion with the Roman See.

If it be said that primitive unity is something not to be expected without a new outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh, like that of the first Pentecost, I acknowledge it. But "is the Lord's hand shortened?" Are not "perilous times" to come in the last days? May not the flames of persecution be again kindled to prepare us for such a blessing? Is it not high time that, repenting for the past, we should fit ourselves by prayer and supplication both for the sufferings and for the infinite consolations of the Latter Day? Is it not true that "if there be first the willing mind," Christ can accomplish the rest?

Here, then, are the positions: (1) that we should strive to regain what once existed, and what Christ has made the condition precedent to the world's conversion; (2) that the unity which even the Nicene Council called "the ancient customs" is Scriptural unity, and its restoration is practically attainable; (3) that as it is the only Scriptural unity which has ever existed and operated among vast bodies of men for the good of nations and of churches, and for the conversion of the heathen to Christ, so it is the only catholic system, and hence the only practical means of reforming the Latin churches; (4) that for restoring the maternal churches of the East, which, with all their faults, have never violated the Nicene system or given ear to the sophistries of the papacy, it is a prime necessity; (5) that as all modern divisions have resulted from the papal usurpation which has made war for a thousand years upon the Greek and other churches of the East because they adhered to the primitive constitutions, so the restoration of the catholic system to the Latin churches is not to be lost sight of, but must be regarded as hopeless until Christians of the Protestant reformation accept the maxim, "Physician, heal thyself:" (6) that in dealing with the ancient churches of the East and West alike, we must meet them in fraternal love by accepting every ancient constitutional principle which they regard as essential, provided it is not contrary to Holy Scripture and has been always recog-

nized as consistent with what is Scriptural even by the Continental Reformers.

These positions are implied in the Lambeth proposals which I have endeavored to assert and to explain. The "historic episcopate" is their seminal principle. And I think this has been objected to only because the world-wide scope of our proposals has not been taken into the survey of many brethren in America. As a general rule, if they have not met us upon this broad base it is because they have turned all their thoughts to the desirable object of harmonizing differences purely local—the correction of discords and abuses among our distracted and undisciplined countrymen. This object is most praiseworthy. But in our efforts to reach it how can we consent to measures which in their very nature involve a new schism—a gigantic American sect, the very organization of which would be a renewed warfare upon the ancient churches in points where they are not corrupt, and where they would tell us to reform ourselves if we would preach to them? Such a sect if designed for perpetuity would only erect new barriers to the world's conversion. And besides it would be suicidal, for it would leave uneradicated the core and kernel of sectarianism. On the first outbreak of discord new divisions would be generated and new sects formed; and for the prevention of this there is no remedy save that which all consider consistent with the gospel, and which many regard as clearly set forth in the New Testament, viz., the accepting of one common and primitive rule for the perpetuation of the sacred ministry. In a word, the great commission of Christ himself exists in the world and has his own promise of perpetuity; it has been handed down, like the canon of Scripture, under his watchful providence; and there is no excuse for creating new lines of ministerial succession with the certainty that endless divisions must be the consequence. The historic episcopate is therefore cardinal to the idea of restoration—the point on which it hinges. And let it not be forgotten that this is no novel or narrow view of us Anglicans. It was the rule of all antiquity until Nicholas I. created his Western Schism by substituting himself and his own single see for the whole episcopate, viewed as a "solidarity," as one body. This universal episcopate was subject only to Christ, the Head. So it was understood and expounded by St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, and by Gregory, Bishop of Rome, who for himself and others denounced the claim

to a universal bishopric as antichristian. Nor is this the idea of ancient fathers only; the Reformers of the Continent held it theoretically and sacrificed it only on the plea of necessity, deserted as they were by their own bishops, who, unlike those of England, threw their flocks to devouring wolves. Surely we have never said anything in defence of this cardinal point half so strong as what was said by Calvin when he despaired of restoring a primitive episcopate to the Swiss. These are his words: "Let them exhibit such an episcopate, one in which they may not refuse to be subject to Christ, so that from him alone as the head they depend and to him may be related; in which among themselves they may cultivate a fraternal intercourse knit together by no other tie than his truth; then, verily, I will confess that there is no anathema which they would not merit, if any such should be, who would not reverently and with supreme deference accept it." To the same purport may be quoted Beza, Bucer, Melancthon, and innumerable others of the Continental Reformers. It will be remembered that Baxter and his brethren assured the Church of England that as Presbyterians they were not adverse to the episcopate of England, provided only that, by the admission of presbyters and laymen to their place in synod, the government of the church might be rendered other than that of an unlimited hierarchy. In the United States this principle is not only conceded, for that is a feeble expression; it is assumed as a Scriptural right, and maintained in all our government as it was by St. Cyprian of old. For such was the inspired original; in which "apostles, presbyters, and brethren" are not only gathered in council, but associated with apostles in their pastoral letters. For so reads the record: "Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole church." And such is the outline of apostolic unity.

As reasons for uniting in the work of restoration, by placing it before us as a desirable and attainable end, which the Holy Spirit will show us how to reach in due time, I will state but two.

(1) What has happened in this great city, so recently, may illustrate the impotency of a divided Christianity From the arrogant and ambiguous insincerity of an alien heirarchy, down to the agnosticism of some and the cool surrender of faith by others; yes, down to the polygamous Mormons and the monastic Shakers, what a spectacle was presented to intelligent Hindoos and other Gentiles! Is this Christianity? Surely if its professors

are here, it is hard to discover how it may be identified among such discordant professions. In the name of God, what is meant by the gospel? What must we understand by "the church"? Among all these wrangling teachers, where are those with whom Christ promised to continue to the end of the world? Where is that truth, whole and entire, which was to be conveyed and perpetuated by the mission of the Paraclete? Do not these queries express the inexplicable enigmas involved in Christianity as intelligent heathen saw it here exhibited? Was there anything in what they saw and heard which would lead them to the belief that Christ is the Son of God, and that his mission from the Father was to die for the sins of the whole world, and to rise again that he might unite all men in one holy communion and fellowship? Surely there is but one reply to these inquiries; and if so, is there not reason why we should qualify ourselves to make the world believe in him, by accepting the condition of organic unity on which Christ has made the world's conversion to depend? (2) And the other reason is like unto it; for if it was the plan and purpose of Christ that the unity of his followers should be as absolute as the divine unity itself, Christians are bound to exemplify it. Does anybody who believes in the triune God deny that the original church of the apostles, filled with the Spirit, did exemplify this unity? But can any true believer affirm that it was exemplified by what the Gentiles beheld here a few days ago? To say nothing of innumerable other reasons for a return to the unity of the apostolic communion, are not these enough? I add no more.

But what prospect is there that a return to such unity can be effected? Nearly forty years ago, on St. Bartholomew's Day (that day of melancholy memories), at Freiburg in the Breisgau, I met John Baptist Hirscher, dean of the cathedral there, whose work calling for a new and better reformation in Germany I had just discovered and read with profound emotion. After much conversation he gave me the kiss of peace and we parted. I recognized him as another John Huss opening a new era for his native land. I translated and published his work in England, predicting the approach of what is now accomplished—a Catholic revival in Germany among the adherents of Rome. Since then Rome has taken the fatal step of forging new chains for the minds and souls of men. The Vatican Council, not yet formally

closed, has aroused the consciences of intelligent adherents of the Roman religion to inquire "when will this religion be completed and what other novelties are yet to be identified with our creed?" The truly great mind and soul of Döllinger has arisen to confirm and enlarge the convictions of Hirscher. The Church of Utrecht has imparted the succession to Old Catholics in Germany and Switzerland, and has now undertaken a work in France with similar ends in view. A memorable conference of Old Catholics and Anglicans was held at Cologne in 1872. Under this awakening the Bonn Conference of 1874 saw Greeks, Anglicans, and Latins assembled for the first time, in loving concord to review events of the past three centuries. The illustrious Döllinger presided. Most hopeful results have followed. At the same time, among Protestant denominations of England and America the strongest symptoms have been manifested of a longing to repair the desolations of many generations. From Lutherans and from the Scottish establishment have been heard voices well-nigh as clear and outspoken as that which proceeded from Lambeth. In May last a conference took place in Washington, between Presbyterians and Anglicans, which went far to repair the failures of the Savoy Conference in 1661, by opening an era of inquiry and good understanding in place of the collisions and controversies which for three hundred years have disgraced two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family. Finally, here are we to-day meeting for brotherly conference and not for altercation. What then, judging by the past, are the prospects for the future?

One word more. In the early years of this century, when nothing seemed to suggest it, a remarkable prophecy was uttered by the last man in Christendom from whom it might have been expected; by De Maistre, a furious Ultramontanist, the ally and fanatical apologist of the Jesuits. He had studied Anglican theology and history, and the Lord opened his mouth to speak, as follows: "If ever—as all things persuade them to do—Christians are to reunite, it would seem that the movement thereto must proceed from the Church of England. . . . She may be regarded as one of those chemical intermediaries which have the property of bringing together elements by nature incapable of association."

Brethren, what De Maistre thus predicted he lived not to see; but we have lived to see his Ultramontane prophecies not only

unrealized but reversed. He was so sure of them that he invokes "the derision of the universe" if they are not accepted by Europe and the world at large. The career of Pio Nono has overthrown all that he anticipated for Rome; but from the Anglican Church has gone forth the movement he foresaw. From her has come a loving voice, which has been heard and felt among millions of good men, in all parts of the world. It is a voice for organic unity and its restoration among all who love the Lord Jesus Christ. What sacrifices are necessary for this result which can be considered too formidable in behalf of such a glorious consummation?

A truly Catholic restoration would distinguish between (1) the faith itself, in which all must unite, as essential to communion and fellowship, and (2) theological systems, such as every particular church prescribes to its pastors and teachers, with due submission to the Catholic rule—"What everywhere, by all the churches, and always from the beginning has been taught." Thus, we could not ask our brethren to accept our Book of Common Prayer. Our articles, checks on mere individualism in the pulpit, were never imposed upon the laity, nor upon any one as terms of communion. They are only a cate chism for harmonizing the teachings of parochial pastors. The Nicene Creed is the only creed which the Catholic and Apostolic Church has ever prescribed to all believers; the Apostles' Creed (so called) is only a liturgical, or baptismal and catechetical, formula. Who, then, can speak of sacrifices, if unity might be restored on such terms? I will not press the awful (and possibly misinterpreted) expression of St. Paul—Rom. ix. 3—in his yearnings for restored unity with his Jewish kindred; but I must affirm that every Christian, while laboring for so blessed a restoration as Christ bids us to attain, should be able to say with the apostle, in humble dependenee upon grace divine: "I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die for the name of the Lord Jesus"—that is, for the fulfilling of his own precept and prayer that all his followers may be one. Amen.

THE FEDERATION OF CHURCHES.

By Rev. James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., of Princeton.

The command of our Lord to his disciples before leaving the earth was, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature" (Mark xvi. 5). The command was recognized from the very first as seriously binding on every Christian. As every man on the face of the earth has sinned, so is there an atonement sufficient for every one. The injunction of Christ is to offer pardon to every man. So far as Christians have not done this they are guilty of sin. Yet upwards of eighteen hundred years have passed and the order is far from being executed. Perhaps one half of the human race have not had salvation preached to them in an intelligent and attractive form. It is certain that there are yet whole nations to whom the provision which God has made for the redemption of our world has not been made known. There are men, women, and little children in the crowded streets of our great cities who have no intelligent view of Christ and his salvation. What will seem strange to many, there are, to my knowledge, hundreds in our retired country districts who have no notion, or a most confused notion, of Christ's great work of salvation.

We may be sure that Christ never issued a command which he did not mean to be executed. The forgiveness which he secured for every man he intended to make known to every man. It is a great reproach lying on the churches generally and on each church in particular that such a lengthened period has elapsed, and yet there are persons, loving and lovely persons, and whole regions, to whom Christ's precious gifts have not been made known for their comfort and salvation.

A very common idea is that the church should become one, that all its denominations should become one, and then it is supposed that the whole evangelical work will be accomplished. Now I believe that the church is one at present, and that ulti-

mately it will be visibly one. But at the present time the Episcopalian body will not become Presbyterian nor the Presbyterian become Episcopalian, and the Methodist, the Congregationalist, and the Baptist will each insist on holding by its own peculiarities.

I have favored in every way this unity. I have succeeded with others in making the orthodox Presbyterians visibly one in a Presbyterian Alliance. But when I sought to make the different denominations one I utterly failed. But while this state of things exists the command is still binding, "preach the gospel to every creature." Since it cannot be done by all the churches becoming one at present, it should be done by a denominational federation.

First, in following out these views there should be such an understanding and co-operation among denominations as to secure that the gospel be preached in every country and all over every country. The eyes of every church should be over the whole world of human beings, to see that in every country the glad tidings of salvation be proclaimed. The increase of post-office facilities, of travelling, of telegraphs, should make this easier than in any previous age in the history of the world. We have no right to keep to ourselves and to keep back from others the gracious announcement that the Son of God has left the bosom of the Father and come into the world to save sinners. If there be any nation or region which has not heard the joyful sound, it is the imperative duty of every church to see that the message be proclaimed there and join with other evangelical churches for that end.

Secondly, every minister may have a district allotted to him. It is on this that I most fondly dwell.

This district should if possible be immediately round his place of worship. I have often been extremely disgusted at seeing, in the old country and in this, a congregation fed with the richest truth from Sabbath to Sabbath in the midst of a district where the people were miserably degraded while yet nothing was done for them. Where a minister cannot have a district close to his church let him have one in a convenient position. The minister is to feel that he has an oversight of the district, and that every one has a Saviour proclaimed to him. The minister should labor in that district, and should make his own people interested specially in its young and in its poor.

And here I may state that there are two plans of spreading the gospel; one of these is the district or parochial, the other the congregational.

The first, the district one, I believe to be truly the ancient one. At a very early age in the history of the church a minister had a district more or less extensive allotted to him, and he had to labor in it, and look after every one in it, and be so far responsible that every one there had the gospel proclaimed to him. In the course of time the whole country, in particular the whole of Europe, was divided into parishes with a minister or ministers and elders set over it.

In the course of time there grew up, secondly, the congregational plan. A minister had a place of worship provided for him and was to gather as many people as possible and preach the gospel to them. This is the modern plan, adopted because parishes often became too large, or because the people became discontented with the parish minister, or because there were people who wished to choose their own pastor.

Both of these plans are at present in operation in various countries. I am not sure that either should be abandoned. I am inclined to think that both should be adopted and that they should be judiciously combined so as to secure the advantages of both.

Both plans are good in themselves. Each has its own excellences. The best plan seems to lie in some modified union of both. Let the minister partake of all the comfort he obtains from an attached people in his congregation, but let him extend his interest to others and seek to bring them into relation with Christ.

It is to be understood that when a minister takes a district he should not seek to keep any other from entering that district. In the old country when a minister had a parish allotted to him there was a jealousy of any other laboring in that district. That idea must now be altogether abandoned. The minister must welcome every one who comes into his district to do good. Sometimes the mixed work may tend to produce a little confusion and altercation. But things will soon settle themselves when there is anything of the spirit of Christ, and the district may need all the laborers.

It is clear that the parochial plan cannot be established in

America, where the congregational plan has preoccupied the ground. But let the congregations everywhere embrace so much of the parochial system as to have a district allotted to each. In the district the minister should labor and take with him into it all the members of his congregation who are willing to work in Christ's cause, and to visit the sick and set up Sabbath-schools, and to assist all who need spiritual help. These selected districts scattered all over the land may come to embrace all the spiritually destitute districts, and to scatter gospel agents all over the land. It is by some such method that I expect the gospel to be preached to every creature.

I may be permitted to state that for many years I was a parochial minister in Scotland and took advantage of both methods, the congregational and the parochial. My colleague and I had upwards of 1400 members in our church to whom we preached the gospel and were able with other denominations to look after every individual, male and female, old and young, in the district. The consequence was that in a parish of 6000 or 8000 inhabitants there were not a dozen who did not go to the house of God more or less frequently. I confess I should like to see this system spread over the whole of this country.

Working on this method, every degraded district would come to have its agents, male and female, working in it. In this way the whole land might be covered with agents working for Christ. The wealthier and more moral and Christian districts might be left to provide ministers for themselves, and the more degraded districts have these agents provided for them. It is in this way, I confess, I expect to have the whole land covered with gospel messengers and every one feel that he has a Christian friend to whom he can apply in time of need.

It is a plan which can be adopted by any church without the breach of any denominational principle. Instead of a grand church union being adopted first and then evangelistic work following, it will be by the church work that church union is produced.

I rejoice that Christians are taking up the discussion of these all-momentous topics at this great national exhibition. If what is contemplated is effected, I will rejoice more in the good done than in all these riches and in all these ornaments.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

By Mr. A. J. Arnold, General Secretary, of London.

A few words of apology are needed from one who was invited to speak of the work of the British Evangelical Alliance at the Chicago Conference, but finds himself unable to be present. The duties devolving upon me as General Secretary of the British Organization of the Alliance are always absorbing, and recently have become even more so than usual owing to several cases of religious persecution now demanding constant attention. These circumstances compel me to forego the pleasure of revisiting the United States, and with great regret I must relinquish the hope I had entertained of responding in person to the kind invitation of the New York Committee. According to their wish, however, I submit the following brief paper.

In dealing with the subject allotted to me I find it extremely difficult to draw a very distinct line between that which may be considered definitely to be the work of the *British* Evangelical Alliance and that which concerns the *whole* Alliance. Some words of explanation upon this point may be useful.

History.—It must be remembered that the Evangelical Alliance was constituted in 1846 after much deliberation, and correspondence between leading divines and laymen of all evangelical churches in Britain and America as well as on the continent of Europe. Many of the leading Christian men in our own country were foremost in seeking a *modus vivendi* by which evangelical Christians of all denominations and of all countries might find a common platform on which to give expression to their unity in Christ. Eventually, and after some preliminary meetings, the Evangelical Alliance was duly formed in London in 1846; and whilst Britain had a large share in securing this happy consummation, it is no less gratifying to remember that the United States also had many distinguished representatives

present, and these took a prominent part in the formation of the Alliance.

Organization.—Twelve hundred delegates from various countries after founding the Evangelical Alliance in London returned to their several homes, but it had been arranged that in all lands, where practicable, branches of this universal Alliance should be established. Great Britain was the first to organize itself on the basis adopted by the great conference in London, and within three months the British Organization was established.

Permanence.—During the forty-seven years which have since elapsed this has been the only branch of the Alliance family which has had a continuous and permanent existence. This fact, coupled with other circumstances which need not be more fully referred to, has resulted in the British Evangelical Alliance being looked upon, by the various branches, as the parent Alliance; and whenever there has been a desire, in any part of the world, to appeal to the Evangelical Alliance as a *whole*, almost invariably that appeal has been addressed to London as the central home of the Alliance.

Responsibility.—Thus while great honor and privilege have been accorded to the British Evangelical Alliance, a vast responsibility also has rested upon it. The international conferences have given an opportunity to voice the opinion of the various branches throughout the world upon the subjects which may have been submitted at the time, but still these conferences assemble only at intervals of six or seven years, and in the periods between those gatherings it naturally happens that the British Evangelical Alliance is expected to take a prominent and leading part in all matters of general interest. This has been the rule in regard to the arrangements for most of the international conferences. Moreover it has constantly happened that cases have arisen which needed prompt attention, and the British Alliance with its permanent organization has been called upon to take the initiative. In matters of religious liberty this has been more particularly the case. At the same time it should be observed that the British branch has always sought to obtain the concurrence and co-operation of such other branches as were specially interested in the particular case presented.

Foreign Branches.—These preliminary remarks were necessary

in order to explain how it is that the British Evangelical Alliance has spread itself out into so many parts of the world. Another point also should be emphasized. Reference has already been made to the formation of branches of the Alliance in various countries, and it is remarkable that many of these, not simply in the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire but in many other lands, have distinctly affiliated themselves with the British Organization. This feature of the world-wide connections of the British Alliance has had its influence in shaping the course which has been followed in our country.

It is now time, however, to speak of the different lines of action followed in carrying out the work.

Principles.—1. The primary object which the founders of the Evangelical Alliance set before themselves was the outward manifestation of the unity of the body of Christ; the promotion of Christian union, and fraternal and devotional intercourse; thus discouraging strifes and divisions, and impressing upon Christians generally a deeper sense of the great duty of obeying their Lord's command to love one another and to seek the full accomplishment of his prayer "that they all may be one." These first principles have been studiously followed. Perhaps this may be more clearly indicated by reference to the fact that at the formation of the British Alliance a series of resolutions was adopted embodying the whole principles of the Evangelical Alliance and called the "Practical Resolutions." These are read and enforced at each annual conference of the British Organization—the object being to remind the members of the duties which devolve upon them in carrying out the great aims of the Alliance. A distinguished clergyman of the Church of England who recently undertook the duty of enforcing these "practical resolutions" at one of our annual conferences, described them as "a magnificent model of Christian exhortation," and the designation is not an exaggerated one. Perhaps I may be permitted to append to this paper a copy of the resolutions, as I believe they are not known outside of the British Organization.

"PRACTICAL RESOLUTIONS"

Agreed upon by the London Conference (1846), *and adopted by the British Organization at the Manchester Conference* (1846).

The following resolutions are read, and commended to the practical attention of the members, at each Annual Conference of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance.

1. That the members of this Alliance earnestly and affectionately recommend to each other in their own conduct, and particularly in their own use of the press, carefully to abstain from and put away all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamor, and evil-speaking, with all malice; and in all things in which they may yet differ from each other, to be kind, tender-hearted, forbearing one another in love, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven them; in everything seeking to be followers of God, as dear children, and to walk in love, as Christ also hath loved them.

2. That as the Christian union which this Alliance desires to promote can be obtained only through the blessed energy of the Holy Spirit, it be recommended to the members present, and absent brethren, to make this matter the subject of simultaneous weekly petition at the throne of grace, in their closets and families; and the forenoon of Monday is suggested as the time for that purpose. And that it be further recommended that the week beginning with the first Lord's day of January, in each year, be observed by the members and friends of the Alliance throughout the world, as a season for concert in prayer on behalf of the grand objects contemplated by the Alliance.

3. That in seeking the correction of what the members of the Alliance believe to be wrong in others, they desire, in humble dependence on the grace of God, themselves to obey, and by their practice and influence to impress upon others, the command of Christ to consider first the beam that is in their own eye: that they will, therefore, strive to promote, each in his own communion, a spirit of repentance and humiliation for its peculiar sins; and to exercise a double measure of forbearance in reproving, where reproof is needful, the faults of those Christian brethren who belong to other bodies than their own.

4. That when required by conscience to assert or defend any views or principles wherein they differ from Christian brethren who agree with them in vital truths, the members of this Alliance will aim earnestly, by the help of the Holy Spirit, to avoid all rash and groundless insinuations, personal imputations, or irritating allusions, and to maintain the meekness and gentleness of Christ, by speaking the truth only in love.

5. That, while they believe it highly desirable that Christians of

different bodies, holding the Head, should own each other as brethren by some such means as the Evangelical Alliance affords, the members of the Alliance disclaim the thought that those only who openly join the society are sincere friends to the cause of Christian union: that, on the contrary, they regard all those as its true friends who solemnly purpose in their hearts, and fulfil that purpose in their practice, to be more watchful in future against occasions of strife, more tender and charitable towards Christians from whom they differ, and more constant in prayer for the union of all the true disciples of Christ.

6. That the members of this Alliance would therefore invite, humbly and earnestly, all ministers of the gospel, all conductors of religious publications, and others who have influence in various bodies of Christians, to watch more than ever against the sins of the heart, or the tongue, or the pen, towards Christians of other denominations; and to promote more zealously than hitherto a spirit of peace, unity, and godly love among all true believers in the Lord Jesus Christ.

7. That, since all the disciples of Christ are commanded by the Holy Spirit to add to brotherly kindness love, and are bound to pray that all who profess and call themselves Christians should be led into the way of truth, it is earnestly recommended to the members of the Evangelical Alliance to offer special prayer for all merely nominal Christians, as well as for Jews and Gentiles throughout the world.

8. That the members of this Alliance, earnestly longing for the universal spread of Christ's kingdom, devoutly praise God for the grace whereby, in late years, evangelical Christians have been moved to manifold efforts to make the Savior known to both Jew and Gentile, and faithful men have been raised up to undertake the toil. They would offer to all evangelical missionaries their most fraternal congratulations and sympathy; would hail the flocks they have been honored to gather as welcome and beloved members of the household of God; and, above all, would implore the Head of the Church to shield his servants, to edify his rising churches, and, by the outpouring of his Holy Spirit, to enlighten Israel with the knowledge of the true Messiah, and to bring the heathen out of darkness into light. They would also record their confident hope that their beloved missionary brethren will strive more and more to manifest before the Israelite and other classes who know not the Redeemer that union in their blessed Lord, the spirit of which the members of this Alliance would gratefully acknowledge they have generally cherished.

Aims.—The great aim has been, therefore, to promote and extend brotherly love and union among Christians of the various

denominations in our country, to emphasize the duty of moderation in controversy, of a generous allowance for differences of judgment, and of cordial affection between all who are truly followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. The effect of this testimony borne consistently, and persistently, during forty-seven years is seen in the changed aspect of religious matters in this country. There is now a far greater amount of Christian union and co-operation among the members of the various evangelical churches than was the case fifty years ago.

Nor have the efforts of the British Alliance been limited to this great object. It has always endeavored to exert a beneficial influence upon the advancement of evangelical religion, on the counteraction of infidelity and Romanism, and on the desecration of the Lord's day.

Indirect Influence.—It should be added here that whilst many of the *direct* results of the efforts of the Alliance in promoting brotherly love and co-operation have been evident, perhaps the *indirect* results of the movement have been even more powerful. Regarding these, however, it is impossible to speak particularly in the present paper, owing to the limits of time.

2. *Conferences.*—Reference has been made to the conferences held annually in some city or town of the United Kingdom. These have had most distinct and practical outcomes. It may be noted also that during the first decade or more of the history of the Alliance these conferences, which brought together representative Christians of all the evangelical churches of our land, were the only occasions upon which such fellowship could be enjoyed. Whilst our noble Bible Society and the scarcely less important Religious Tract Society afforded a common platform for co-operation in those particular lines of work, the Evangelical Alliance stood alone as the platform upon which Christians of all denominations could unite to testify to their unity in Christ, and to seek means for co-operating in various departments of Christian effort. The numerous Christian conferences which are now held throughout our country have all directly or indirectly sprung out of the Evangelical Alliance; and this refers not only to the Mildmay Conference, founded by the sainted William Pennefather, who was a member of our Council and accustomed to attend our meetings, but also to the Keswick Convention, whose founder, Canon Battersby, was one

of our own beloved Honorary Secretaries, was most devoted to the principles of the Alliance and attended its gatherings. One or two practical results of the annual conferences of the British Evangelical Alliance may be given as indicative of a far larger number which might be enumerated.

Practical Outcomes.—At one of the conferences, where a distinguished missionary had been pleading the cause of missions in India, he pointed out how much might be done by the co-operation of evangelicals in supplying Christian literature for the rising generations of India. The idea was discussed and developed, eventuating in the formation of the "Christian Literature Society for India," which has now had a most successful history of over thirty-five years.

At another conference, where an American missionary gave deeply-interesting information regarding the work of God in Bible lands, it was felt that British Christians should have a share in this blessed work. After deliberation it was agreed that, instead of establishing new British missions in the Turkish empire and adjacent lands, a "Turkish Missions Aid Society" should be formed whose aim should be to supply help for the various operations carried on by the beloved and esteemed American missionaries who were already in the field.

At a still later conference the Christian Evidence Society took shape, while various enterprises for Christian co-operation have been initiated at other annual conferences, including the originating of special religious services in secular halls, theatres, etc., for the non-church-going masses of the people, and which has now become an established institution throughout our country.

3. *Other Objects.*—A passing reference should be made to the repeated and persistent efforts made by the British Organization in seeking to counteract infidelity and Romanism, as well as the desecration of the Lord's day. Time forbids a detailed reference to these subjects, but it may be stated that in each direction the influence of the Alliance has been exerted steadily in various ways during the past forty-seven years. It may be added here that among the numerous efforts put forth outside our own country the *Salles Evangéliques* (in connection with the expositions) in Paris in 1867 and 1878 were built, and the services carried out, entirely by the British Alliance.

4. *United Prayer.*—Union in prayer has been an object which the British Alliance has steadily cultivated during its whole history. It will be noted that one of the practical resolutions already referred to distinctly calls upon the members of the Alliance to observe the first complete week in January each year as a week of special and united prayer. For many years this Week of Prayer was observed amongst the members and friends of the British Organization alone, but at the second of the great international conferences of the Alliance (in Paris) this plan for united prayer was duly emphasized and commended to the various branches of the Alliance. In 1859 the Lodiana missionaries in India inaugurated a week of special prayer for missions, which was observed during the *second* week of the year, not only by Christians in India but in other countries. Then followed a missionary conference, held at Liverpool in 1860, at which a proposal was made for the setting apart of a week of special prayer *for missions*, at the commencement of 1861. The promoters of the conference subsequently communicated their wish that the British Organization of the Alliance would prepare and issue an invitation to this effect. A similar desire was also expressed by the Lodiana missionaries, and the Rev. Mr. Morrison, one of that body, wrote to the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird (vice-president) with reference to the Lodiana Week of Prayer. Mr. Morrison remarked that many portions of the church of Christ had not, for various reasons, participated in it, and he thus continued:

"Now I have been thinking of a scheme by which this partial failure might be remedied and a real union of all the praying people of God throughout the world be secured. If the Evangelical Alliance, who are in the habit of observing the first week in January of every year as a week of special prayer, could be induced to make their invitation as general as that of the Lodiana missionaries, and to take advantage of all the means at their command to circulate the invitation through all parts of the world, we might have next January a more deeply-interesting and universal concert for prayer than we have had this year. Would you not undertake to get the Alliance to adopt and carry out some such extension of their invitation?"

Universal Week of Prayer.—The council of the British Alliance heartily responded to this appeal, and thenceforward their

invitation was addressed to Christians in all lands and not simply to members of the Evangelical Alliance. It is gratifying to state that all the branches of the Alliance throughout the world have co-operated in this matter, and the invitation now for many years past, though prepared in England, has gone out with the signatures of representatives of the *whole* Alliance. Thus this movement for united prayer has grown into the *Universal Week of Prayer*, which is now observed in almost every part of the globe, even including the distant islands of the Pacific and the interior of China, Japan, and other eastern countries. The results of this annual observance of the Week of Prayer have been very remarkable, and reports received from time to time from many countries show that revivals of religion have frequently followed the united meetings which have been held, and especially has this been the case in the mission field. The unity which has been so happily manifested among missionary brethren, of various denominations, who are living amidst heathen and Mohammedan populations, has had a most beneficial effect upon native Christians; and in many parts of the earth the Week of Prayer is anticipated with marvellous interest. It is impossible, however, in a brief reference to give anything like an adequate idea of the importance of such a concert in prayer, but it may be confidently asserted that God has greatly blessed the Evangelical Alliance in this manifestation of the unity of the body of Christ.

5. *Religious Liberty.*—Very soon after the formation of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846 it was found that there was a unique work to be accomplished and which had scarcely been anticipated by the founders of the Alliance. Whilst Britain and America have so long enjoyed full religious freedom, the various countries of Europe, and many lands beyond, were, till recent years, less favored in this matter. Thus in 1846 there was scarcely a country in Europe where religious liberty actually prevailed. Very soon the Evangelical Alliance was appealed to on behalf of some who were suffering persecution for Christ's sake, in Italy; then from Spain and other countries came similar appeals. Either alone or in co-operation with the European and other branches of the Alliance, the British Organization has in almost every year of its existence taken up the cause of the oppressed and persecuted in some quarter of the globe. In this blessed work God has given abundant evidence of his approval, and suc-

cess has attended the efforts made. In dealing with these matters steps have had to be taken promptly and without waiting for communications between the various branches of the Alliance; but in several cases of religious persecution, such as that of Matamoros in Spain, the Christians in Russia and in Turkey, as well as others, the British Alliance has sought and obtained the hearty co-operation of the branches in other countries, including the United States of America. It is a proof of the permanent position which the British Organization has occupied as the centre of the Evangelical Alliance that whenever a case of religious persecution has occurred in any part of the world, the appeal has been made to London for help which oppressed brethren naturally expect from an organization whose object is to promote Christian unity. That unity involves mutual interests, and, in the words of the great apostle, "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." In this connection it may be mentioned that numerous communications of a most pathetic kind have been received at various times, including one forwarded by an American missionary from Upper Egypt many years ago and commencing with the words: "The eyes of the people are turned imploringly to the Evangelical Alliance for sympathy and aid."

Europe.—The state of things on the continent of Europe at the present time is very different from what it was forty-seven years ago. *Now* religious freedom to a greater or less extent is enjoyed in most of the countries. The experience of the past few years, however, warns us that there is still a great work to be done before full religious liberty is secured in some quarters, and particularly in Turkey and other Mohammedan lands, as well as in Russia and some Roman Catholic countries. It is a blessed fact, however, that in almost every instance the representations of the Evangelical Alliance on behalf of persecuted Christians, whether made alone by the British Organization or by united action with the other branches, have been successful. In Spain and Portugal, in Austria and in many other parts of Europe, the appeals of the Evangelical Alliance have frequently led to a cessation of persecution and the enjoyment of religious liberty by those who had been previously suffering. Every year has brought some urgent appeal for help for the persecuted. Occasionally it has been from the distant islands of the Pacific Ocean, or from Persia or Egypt, while in numerous instances it has been from countries nearer at

hand. Again and again the memorials or deputations sent by the British Alliance or in concert with the other branches have resulted in freedom being restored. Thus the Evangelical Alliance has become widely known as the defender of the persecuted, and it should be observed that not only have appeals been made on behalf of Protestants, but Roman Catholics persecuted in Protestant countries for their religion's sake have secured liberty through the aid of the Alliance, whilst the case of the persecuted Jews has also been championed by the Evangelical Alliance.

Modus operandi.—It may be asked, how is this particular work accomplished? Very briefly I would indicate that, in the first instance, on receiving an intimation of religious persecution, inquiries are made to insure the absolute certainty of facts. Then it is always sought to bring private influence to bear upon the government or authorities in the particular country concerned. If these private efforts fail, influence of public opinion through the press is invoked. In either of these directions success is frequently obtained, but as a last resort direct appeals are made by memorial or deputation. The unofficial influence of the British government is asked, and very often an ambassador has been instructed to make inquiries regarding a particular case of persecution. The result of such inquiries, showing as it does the interest taken in the persecuted, leads in many instances to an amelioration of their condition, while in other cases an ambassador may even be instructed to make friendly representations in favor of religious liberty. Sometimes it becomes necessary to expose the intolerant action of certain governments, and then the publicity of the press is most valuable.

Russia.—Before concluding this part of my paper it should be remarked that at the present time Christians in Russia dissenting from the orthodox church are suffering terrible persecution and barbarity at the hands of the authorities and officials. Several different lines of action have been already taken in regard to this matter, all with the idea of bringing influence to bear without offending the susceptibilities of Russia, but these efforts seem to have been of no avail. Very soon it may become the duty of the Evangelical Alliance, speaking through all its branches throughout the world, to make an energetic remonstrance to the Russian authorities, and also to publish to the world some details of the steps already taken by the British

Alliance. Amongst these may be mentioned the raising of a special fund already amounting to nearly £900 for the purpose of alleviating the physical sufferings of as many of the Stundists as can be reached.

Turkey.—In Turkey, again, there is evidently a reactionary spirit on the part of the authorities, and if Protestant missions and Christian work generally in that empire are to be continued some energetic measures will have to be taken unitedly by the various governments to whom Turkey is responsible by solemn treaty to give religious liberty to her subjects. During the past two years, especially, efforts have been made (and in part have succeeded) by the British and United States Alliances, but when it is remembered that the missions in Turkey are so largely American it is surely not too much to expect that the Washington government shall *continue* to give its energetic aid to secure religious freedom in the Turkish empire. The other great Protestant power, Germany, will also be urged by the Evangelical Alliance to take joint action with the British and American representatives. By such a determined and persistent appeal made in the name of these three great Protestant powers we may expect the Turk to yield and full religious liberty be restored.

Other Countries.—Thus it will be seen that whilst in many of the great cases of religious persecution the whole Evangelical Alliance has acted unitedly, yet in many instances it has devolved upon the British Organization to take steps alone and unaided. It may interest the Conference to hear mentioned some of the countries in which the appeals of the British Alliance have been made on behalf of those who have suffered for conscience' sake. These include Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Austria, Greece, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Germany, Egypt, Peru, Persia, China, Japan, Corea, Basutoland, New Caledonia, and Raratonga, among many others.

General Conferences.—6. It must not be supposed that in this brief sketch the whole of our operations have been referred to. There is not time, however, to enlarge, and I have thought it wiser to limit myself to the salient features of our work. It is only fair to state, however, that in the arrangements for several of the great international conferences of the Alliance it has fallen to the British branch to take more or less responsibility, and the two most recent of these international assemblies and

the two most difficult were arranged entirely by the British Alliance. It need scarcely be added that such tasks have involved a large expenditure of time and money. But the difficulties, though immense, were by God's blessing successfully overcome. In regard to one of these latest conferences Dr. Schaff gave it as his opinion that "this was the greatest triumph the Evangelical Alliance has ever secured." When it is remembered how great the influence of these œcumenical conferences has been there can be no doubt as to the wisdom of devoting any amount of effort to their accomplishment.

7. It may be asked how the Britsh Organization has been supported, and this great work steadily pursued for nearly half a century. I propose, therefore, to close my paper with some particulars on this point.

Membership.—We have always adopted the plan of enrolling members, and the responsibility involved by those who join the Alliance is limited to an approval of the principles embodied in the basis of the Alliance and a pledge to support it in its work. Those who become members, in most cases, give an annual subscription, and by this means a regular income is secured.

Meetings.—The means taken to enlist new members and supporters for our Alliance consist chiefly in meetings of a private or more public nature, the most effective being those convened by Christian ladies and gentlemen in their drawing-rooms, when friends are invited to hear a statement of the principles of the Alliance and an account of its practical work. The aim is always to secure the attendance of members of the various evangelical churches in a given district, and a twofold advantage is gained by such gatherings. Christian union itself is necessarily promoted, and the constituency of our Alliance is extended. Very rarely are such meetings held without some friends coming forward and desiring to be enrolled as members of the Evangelical Alliance, and thus to have a share in its beneficent work. Some forty or fifty of these drawing-room meetings are held yearly, and the average enrollment of members has been about five hundred per anuum during recent years.

The efforts made on behalf of persecuted Christians naturally appeal to Christian sympathy, and many are found giving their adhesion to the Alliance because of this particular work,

while others, again, rejoice in supporting a society which has taken a firm stand upon its evangelical basis, and affords a common platform for rallying those who desire the advancement of evangelical religion and Christian co-operation in stemming the tide of error and unbelief.

Auxiliaries.—In many towns throughout the United Kingdom we have local auxiliaries, and these are found to be extremely useful. In some cases they arrange for periodical united meetings for prayer and conference. In other cases Christian work of a definite and specific kind has been undertaken, the various evangelical denominations uniting for the purpose. Thus in more than one instance a local auxiliary has been the medium through which Mr. Moody's missions in our country have been initiated and organized. Such auxiliaries are also useful when cases of emergency arise, and then by the blessing of God it is possible to touch the springs of a world-wide telegraph of sympathy and aid; the spirit of prayer is set in motion, and a united cry ascends to the God of all power and might that he would interpose on behalf of the persecuted and listen to the petitions of his people.

"*Evangelical Christendom.*"—Another factor in sustaining the organization of the Alliance in the United Kingdom has been the publication of the monthly journal "Evangelical Christendom." This was founded by members of the Evangelical Alliance immediately after its formation, and has been carried on ever since as the organ of the Alliance. While its circulation has never been more than a few thousand copies per month, yet it is a magazine which has always been widely appreciated and read by missionaries and others throughout the whole world. In recent years it seems to have been certainly not less valued if we may judge by the communications received from time to time speaking of the great interest with which the journal is read. Containing as it does information regarding the work of God in many countries, and particularly in the mission fields, as well as an account of the efforts of the Evangelical Alliance, it is calculated to be of real service to the cause of Christian union generally.

I have thus very imperfectly but briefly sought to lay before the Conference an outline of the work of the British Evangelical Alliance; and while I regret very much my inability to be present

and to give an account *viva voce* of its operations, yet I feel that, amongst so many able and eloquent speakers as will address the Conference, it is perhaps better that my matter-of-fact statement should be read rather than spoken.

The Evangelical Alliance may not have accomplished all that was expected of it by some sanguine friends in its earliest days, but still it has done far more than its founders could have anticipated. The past history of the organization proves how eminently practical the idea of an Evangelical Alliance is; and now that it has spread itself out into all lands, may we not hope to see a far greater development of the principles of Christian union and co-operation than has ever been witnessed before? The United States has now its permanent and established organization. If the two great branches in Britain and America go hand in hand, we may, by God's blessing, not only stimulate and strengthen the various branches of the Alliance in many other countries, but we may see in the future even greater results than in the past. May God give his rich blessing to your deliberations in Chicago, and prosper the work of the United States Evangelical Alliance!

In 1896 the Evangelical Alliance will, *deo volente*, attain its jubilee, and it was generally agreed, between all the branches of the Alliance represented at the recent international conference at Florence, that it would be most suitable for the jubilee conference to take place in England, where the Alliance was founded in 1846. We shall therefore, God willing, invite the co-operation of the United States Alliance, as well as of all other branches throughout the world, in making the jubilee conference an occasion worthy of the great principle underlying the motto of the Evangelical Alliance—"*Unum corpus sumus in Christo.*"

THE AIMS OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

By Rev. Josiah Strong, D.D., General Secretary.

When twelve hundred delegates representing many countries and more than fifty denominations met in London in 1846 to form the Evangelical Alliance, their object was "the furtherance of religious opinion with the intent to manifest and strengthen Christian unity, and to promote religious liberty and co-operation in Christian work, without interfering with the internal affairs of the different denominations."

For nearly half a century now the Evangelical Alliance has served these objects, affording a common ground between the denominations for the expression and cultivation of Christian fellowship, and actively promoting the cause of religious liberty in Spain, Italy, Austria, Russia, Turkey, Persia, South America, and other countries.

During the past year the Evangelical Alliance for the United Stated has co-operated with that of Great Britain in enlisting the friendly offices of their respective governments in behalf of Mirza Ibrahim, a convert from Mohammedanism, who for conscience' sake languished for months in a Persian prison and at length suffered a martyr's death. More successful were the recent efforts of the united Alliances in behalf of the Armenian Professors, Thoumaïan and Kayaïan, who while in the employ of the American Board at Marsovan were seized on false charges, given a trial which was a mockery of justice, and condemned to death. In response to the earnest solicitations of Her Majesty's representative and those of the United States minister to the Sublime Porte, the Sultan commuted the sentence of the condemned men to exile.

But important as are Christian union and religious liberty, there are other subjects which at the present time appeal more strongly to the church of Christ in America. Social problems of

the most serious character are challenging the attention of thoughtful men everywhere and demanding solution. Mazzini said: "Every political question is rapidly becoming a social question, and every social question is rapidly becoming a religious question." With these great problems of the times the church is vitally concerned. If the church really believes that her Lord is indeed "the light of the *world*," she must hold that his teachings contain light for the great problems of every generation. And if in his teachings can be found the solution of these social problems, it is for the church to find and apply that solution.

While the Evangelical Alliance for the United States is no less ready now than formerly to exert its utmost energies in behalf of religious liberty as occasion may arise, its supreme aim at the present time is to assist the churches to see and to accomplish their social mission. And when the nature and magnitude of that mission are fully appreciated, the co-operation of the churches, which the Alliance has always sought to foster, will follow as a matter of course, for the work will be seen to be too vast and varied for accomplishment save by the united energies and co-ordinated activities of the churches.

A reference to the programme of this Conference will show that it very fairly embodies the aims of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States. One general division of it is devoted to the discussion of Religious Liberty, another to Christian Union and Co-operation, while by far the greater part is occupied with the relation of the church to Social Problems.

It will be observed that much attention is given to new methods. We have not presumed to invite the churches to come together and listen to mere theories. Experts who have been eminently successful in their respective lines of practical Christian work have been secured who will speak out of their own experience.

New and successful methods of work are presented with a view to adapting Christian effort to changed conditions. The importance of such adaptation can hardly be exaggerated. There must always be a certain measure of correspondence between all life and its environment. If the latter changes materially, the former must adapt itself to changed conditions or die.

The geologic record shows that at times great and sudden changes took place in the fauna and flora of certain quarters of

the earth. Dominant forms of animal and vegetable life became rare or disappeared altogether, while other forms, previously rare, quickly multiplied and filled the seas or swarmed upon the land. These wide-spread results were the effects of radical changes of climate—temperature, moisture, and the like—or of other profound modifications of the conditions of life. Those forms of life which could not adapt themselves to these changed conditions soon perished, while others which were better adapted or more adaptable throve and multiplied and became dominant.

These stony records preserved in the deep alcoves of the earth have for us something more than a mere scientific interest. They teach that adaptation is a matter of life and death—a lesson which we in this transitional period need to ponder. Thousands of churches in the United States during the past thirty years have perished for lack of this power of adaptation, and thousands more are to-day in a dying condition, while tens of thousands lack efficiency for the same reason.

Let us look for a moment at some of the changes which render a new adaptation imperative. Once a common belief in the truth of Christianity afforded a fulcrum for the lever of Christian effort; now this fulcrum is largely undermined by popular unbelief. Once the Sabbath was generally regarded as a holy day and its religious observance was laid on the popular conscience; now vast numbers deem the Sabbath a holiday and observe it accordingly. Once church attendance was considered binding on all and neglect of the sanctuary was disreputable; now a full half of our population never enters any church, Protestant or Roman Catholic. At the beginning of the century it was our boast that the strength and perpetuity of our institutions were based on the well-being and contentment of the people; now there is a deep and wide-spread discontent. Our population has become more heterogeneous. Foreigners coming in great numbers naturally enough segregate themselves in our large cities, and we find as a result the Chinese quarter, the Jewish quarter, the Italian quarter, and the like—almost any quarter except the American. Thus, their language, ideas, and customs being preserved, they are slow to become Americanized and constitute a great undigested mass in the stomach of the body politic.

Many of these foreigners enrich us with the noblest qualities

of mind and heart, are in full sympathy with the best American ideas, and are among the choicest elements of our population. But great multitudes, while yet strangers to our institutions, are invested with the rights of citizenship though wholly incapable of discharging its duties. This affords an opportunity which unscrupulous politicians are quick to seize, giving rise to the frightful abuses, political, moral, and physical, which afflict our rabble-ruled and boss-ridden American cities. Under our corrupt municipal governments the liquor business, which has become a great organized power, grows ever more lawless, more impudent, more influential; criminals enjoy the protection of the authorities, and officials fatten on the vice which it is their business to uproot, for when men go into politics "for revenue only" justice is made merchandise. Thus reforms of every sort are handicapped and the work of Christianizing and redeeming the city made doubly difficult.

We must note another change of profound significance, which serves to complicate both the problem of the country and that of the city. I refer to the remarkable movement of population from the former to the latter. A hundred years ago only a little over three per cent of our population lived in cities, now nearly thirty per cent. And this movement was greatly accelerated from 1880 to 1890. This state and this city where we are met afford a striking illustration. During the ten years preceding the last national census the population of the state of Illinois increased, but that increase was in the cities. There was an actual decrease of rural population. From 1880 to 1890 this wonderful city gained nearly 600,000 souls, or one hundred and eighteen per cent. But during the same time 792 townships in this state, fifty-four per cent of the whole, lost population.

Many have supposed that this drift of population cityward was only temporary. But such cannot have perceived its principal causes. They are the rise of manufactures in the city, the application of machinery to agriculture, and the railway. All these causes are permanent; we may, therefore, expect this tendency to be permanent. Undoubtedly an increasing proportion of our population is to live in cities. Undoubtedly our cities are to control the nation; and as it becomes increasingly important to purify and save our cities, it becomes increasingly difficult to do so—difficult for church provision and evangelizing agencies

to keep pace with the rapidly-growing population. Thus in 1836 Chicago had one Protestant church to every 1000 souls (I give round numbers); in 1851, one church to every 1500 souls; in 1860, one to 1800; in 1870, one to 2400; in 1880, one to 3000; and in 1890, one to 3600.

This congestion of population is, if possible, even more detrimental to religious interests in the country than in the city. As population decreases churches are depleted and die of exhaustion; schools become poor; property depreciates; people become dispirited; the tone of society changes; roads go from bad to worse, and families become increasingly isolated: and isolation is the mother of barbarism. When population is decreasing there is a general downward tendency in civilization. The conditions in an ebbing and in a flowing tide are radically different.

We have glanced at the nature of the results wrought by the depletion of population in country towns. If we would gain some conception of the magnitude of these results, we must remember that over ten thousand townships in the United States suffered more or less depletion from 1880 to 1890. By comparing the population of every township in the United States, as given in the last census, with its population in 1880, I find that during ten years thirty-nine per cent of the whole number lost population.

Thus this great movement of population from country to city is producing changes in both which are creating new conditions and presenting new and difficult problems which the churches must meet with new adaptations if they are to accomplish their mission.

There is another movement of population which is producing important changes in our cities. I refer to the drift from "down-town" "up-town." The wealthy and well-to-do are retiring before advancing business and, in most instances, taking their churches with them. These town-down churches are depleted and enfeebled by removals until they are stared in the face by the alternative, Remove or die. There is no lack of men and women needing their ministrations—population has actually increased—but the class for which they existed having removed, they find that their accustomed methods do not reach the class which remains, and so they abandon the neediest portion of the city and remove to the best quarter, which is already crowded

with churches. Their failure is a failure of adaptation. It has been demonstrated again and again that with new methods, adapted to changed conditions, these down-town churches can be crowded to their utmost capacity.

Many other changes have taken place in our cities. At the beginning of the century they were little more than large villages, where everybody knew everybody else and neighborhood meant something more than mere proximity. But in recent years they have taken on urban characteristics, and social, industrial, political, and religious conditions have materially changed, demanding on the part of the churches important readjustment of methods.

But new *methods* are not all that is needed to adapt the churches to changed conditions. Changes are taking place more profound, more significant, and farther-reaching in their influence than any thus far noted. There is developing nothing less than a new civilization, with new ideals, new aims, new hopes. We are entering on a new stage of the world's progress, the inspiration of whose glorious possibilities should more than counterbalance any depression we may have felt in our survey of changed conditions and of increased difficulties.

Our entrance on the sociological age of the world marks the beginning of a new stadium in the onward march of mankind. As the remotest peoples are brought into new and close relations by commerce and the facilities of modern travel, the race is becoming one in a new sense and there is a new apprehension of its oneness. We have had to find a new word to fit our new conception, and we talk of the *solidarity* of the race. We are beginning to see that the material well-being and the moral and physical health of different classes are strangely bound up in one bundle. Nations as well as classes are coming into such close relations that we are being forced to a new study of those relations. Whatever the great movements of this sociological age, whether industrial, social, political, or religious, precisely this will undoubtedly prove to be the key to them all—*a feeling after the right relations of man to his fellow.*

War, vice, crime, industrial wrongs, the oppressions of class by class are all seen to be violations of the right relations of man to man; hence with the hope of rectifying those relations comes a new hope for humanity. The world is gaining a higher con-

ception of human nature and its worth. Human suffering is, therefore, of more account. There is coming to be a profound sympathy with wretchedness and a passionate longing to relieve it. Men begin to believe that no class has been hopelessly doomed to ignorance and want. They are daring to hope that a time will come when these "former things" shall have passed away. Very few have as yet clearly defined these hopes and longings. The many are feeling only blindly after this something other and better, if haply they may find it.

Here, then, we see a new need, and a new need is always a new opportunity. Will the Christian church seize this opportunity by meeting this need? The world is groping to-day after the teachings—the neglected teachings—of Him who is indeed the light of the world. There is one fundamental principle that will solve all the problems, rectify all the maladjustments of the present social system; and that principle is *love*. When men find the right relations of man to his fellow—industrial, commercial, social, political, they will all be seen to flow from obedience to the second great law of Him who spake as never man spake; viz., "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The world is ignorantly seeking after the brotherhood which Jesus Christ sought to establish. It is suffering for the application of his teachings to all the relations of life.

The church has occupied herself almost exclusively with the first great law, and sought to bring men into right relations with God. She has not taken the second great law seriously, has not perceived that it is the organic law of a normal society. She has not believed it to be practicable in this selfish, sinning world. She has aimed at individual salvation; she has neglected social salvation. This ought she to have done, and not to have left the other undone. The church can adapt herself and her teachings to this sociological age of the world by simply being true to her Master, by teaching the truth she has so long neglected, by remembering and showing that the second great law is "*like unto*" the first.

As the church has not believed in the practicability of the second law, has not looked for its realization on the earth, she has failed to understand her Master's teaching concerning the kingdom of God, has failed to comprehend the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem "coming down from God *out of heaven*" to

earth. The new social ideal after which men are grasping is simply the kingdom of God fully come, the prayer of our Lord fully answered. "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done *on earth* as it is in heaven." This will mean a redeemed society, a perfected race—will mean mankind perfected physically and mentally as well as spiritually—perfected in condition as well as character—will mean all tears wiped away as well as all guilt purged.

Let it be remembered and emphasized that we are not proposing a gospel of salvation from suffering as a *substitute* for the old gospel of salvation from sin. There is no possible salvation from suffering without salvation from sin, and I may add, there *ought* to be none. As long as there is sin in the world men will need and men will welcome the old gospel of Christ crucified, which is the power of God and the wisdom of God. The church must not cease to preach her Lord's first and great command of love to God, but if she would discern the signs of the times, if she would adapt herself to the new age of the world and fulfil her entire commission, she must learn to preach with new significance and new power the second great command of love to man.

Will the church adapt herself to this new climate of opinion, this new social atmosphere? Or will she for lack of adaptation like extinct fauna and flora become fossilized and perish? Either the church will see the vision of the kingdom and preach the "gospel of the *kingdom*," which she has not yet done, or deliverance will arise from some other source. Within the past year I have heard men, eminent alike for ability and piety, express the gravest doubts whether the church will know the time of her visitation. Many organizations have already sprung up to do her proper work. The growing sense of brotherhood and the increasing concern for suffering and want are multiplying organizations of a benevolent sort; and if the churches fail to meet the increasing demand, these organizations will continue to multiply until a co-ordination of them will become a necessity in the interest of economy and effectiveness. This has already taken place in several of the cities of England, and there are signs of the movement in this country. Wherever it obtains, the leadership which properly belongs to the churches will naturally pass to this new organization formed for the redemption of society, and the churches will lose the opportunity of the age to reach the multitude and mould the new civilization of the future. It is the aim

of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States to save to the churches, if possible, their righful leadership in the redemption of society. This work was laid upon the church by her Lord. The two great laws are alike binding. The church is under as great obligations to save society as to save the individual ; and she is as derelict to duty in handing over to other organizations the work of bringing men into right relations with each other as she would be to hand over to outside organizations the work of bringing men into right relations with God.

We would not forbid other organizations. There is being kindled a new passion for humanity, and those who have never entered into the high fellowship of Christ's sufferings are capable of it. Even those who question the existence of God and deny man's immortality are capable of this holy passion and of burning out their lives on its altar. We recognize and rejoice in all the good that such men do. To elevate the physical life of the slums, to teach men and women cleanliness and decency, though they be taught nothing more, is a distinct gain to the kingdom of God ; and we pray for God's blessing on the philanthropic labors of those who refuse to believe in his existence. But it is far better for *Christian* men to undertake such work. They can do more for man's lower nature by recognizing his higher ; for to elevate the higher is to elevate all below it. We rejoice in the private and individual efforts of Christian men and women in behalf of the degraded and the suffering ; but it is vastly better for the *churches* to make such work their own.

You accordingly find on the programme of this Conference many subjects like the following: What can the *churches* accomplish through the Kindergarten, through University Extension, Fresh Air Funds, Holiday Houses, Social Settlements, Public Baths, and the like? How can the *churches* advance the Tenement House Reform, the Temperance Reform, Political Reforms, and every other good cause? This is Christianity applied to the entire life of the community, and to the entire life of the individual, physical and intellectual as well as spiritual. This applied Christianity aims to prepare men for the perfect life which all will live when the kingdom of God is fully come.

Now the social redemptive work of the churches is so vast and varied, so comprehensive and many-sided, that it is idle for the churches to undertake it without mutual understanding and

co-operation. It is impossible for them to adapt themselves to modern conditions without some form of organization. What shall it be? There seem to some three possible answers to this question: (1) Organic Union, (2) Denominational Federation, and (3) The Co-operation of the Local Churches.

However desirable organic union may be, and however completely it might solve the problem, the solution would come too late, for the need is immediate and urgent, and organic union will be impossible for generations yet to come.

Denominational federation would make possible and official, ecclesiastical co-operation, which would be good so far as it went, but such co-operation would be subject to very serious limitations. It would stop the competition of the various home missionary societies, which would be a great economy of men and of money, and an economy of scandal as well; but such a body would be weak in the prosecution of reforms, and in attempts to solve the great sociological problems of our times. On all such questions its position would necessarily be conservative; it could not lead. It could never go faster than the slowest denomination entering into the federation. As there could be no compulsion, the denomination which was least advanced on any question would necessarily determine the position of the federation. Such would be the result of what might be called federation *at the top.*

The co-operation of the local churches, or federation *at the bottom*, promises larger results. A half-dozen neighboring churches, representing as many denominations, can be induced to take a much more advanced position concerning needed reforms and new methods of work than the half-dozen denominations which they represent. The conservatism of our community would not keep back a less conservative community. When local churches have learned to co-operate, then the churches of different towns and counties and states might learn to act together in behalf of common interests and of popular reforms. This is the kind of organization which the Evangelical Alliance for the United States advocates.

For such a co-operation we need not wait until we can all think alike. I am not sure that that would be desirable even if it were possible. If in essentials there is union, in non-essentials liberty, and in all things charity, we shall be able to work to-

gether for common objects. John Wesley said, "Though we cannot think alike, may we not love alike?" And surely those who love alike may join hands in works of love which without co-operation would be impracticable. We have much more in common than in difference. Let us emphasize what unites and respect what divides. This, if we have a vision clear enough to discern the signs of the times and their needs, is all the preparation required to transform the churches from a Christian mob into the army of the living God.

Have we enough of love and charity and sanctified common-sense to make practicable this co-operation which is so obviously needed? Many have, but some still insist that unless all the sons of God have the same given name, they do not belong to the family at all. There are still some who believe that no matter how loyal and brave his fighting may be there is no true soldier of the cross who is not a member of their regiment and who does not wear their particular pattern of brass buttons; and who imagine that the Great Captain is pleased when they recruit their regiment from some other. A friend of mine, the pastor of one of the most prominent churches in New York, tells me that a colored Baptist brother from the South recently called on him for financial aid. Our Southern brother had mortgaged his house to save his church, and now he was in danger of losing both.

"What," said my friend, "is the condition of your work? Is it successful?"

"Oh yes, sah," was the reply, "we had a powerful blessin' dis pas' wintah. We des took in 'bout fifty members from de Meth'dist church cros' de road, an' 'bout broke it up. 'Tain't goin' to 'mount to nothin' mo'. Yes, sah, we's had a powerful blessin'."

I fear there are not a few white as well as black, and north as well as south, who under like circumstances would feel like gratitude. My friends, the cutest thing the devil ever does is to set a good man to tearing down or obstructing a good work. He would always rather have good men for his business because when they undertake it they can do it so much more effectively than bad men.

The resources of the churches are great, but if they were ten fold greater there would be none to waste in doing the devil's work, none to waste in competition and strife. The Master said,

"Gather up the fragments that nothing be lost." Though he could command infinite resources, and could make a loaf feed a thousand, he would not *waste* a crumb.

Let the church put a stop to the waste involved in competition and in ill-adapted methods, and her strength will prove equal to her day—this great day of new opportunities, of new light, of new life, of new forces, of new inspirations, of new hopes —the day of Him who said, "Behold, I make all things new."

CHRISTIAN CO-OPERATION IN CHURCH EXTENSION.

By President W. DeW. Hyde, D.D., of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.

In presenting a plan of co-operation in church extension a Congregationalist is at something of a disadvantage. For at once the Laocoöns of the other denominations exclaim, in an almost literal version of the Trojan priest, "What strange madness is this, my unhappy countrymen! Think you that a Congregationalist could ever make a proposition that has no treachery in it? Either the Congregationalists are lying low behind this scheme, or it is a device for breaking down our denominational walls, or there is some other secret mischief. Put no faith in it, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians. Whatever it be, I fear the Congregationalists even when they bring offers of concession.

Now I frankly admit that there has been ground for this distrust. It has come from sad experience with so-called union churches. A few people, representing half a dozen denominations, compromise their differences and form a union church. The Baptist gives up immersion; the Methodist, the itinerancy; the Episcopalian, the historic episcopate; the Presbyterian, the Westminster Confession; the Congregationalist—well, he gives up the name: and there you have your Union church. To be sure, when you come to the question of internal government and external affiliation there is but one type of government and one bond of affiliation that will fit this independent local church, and that is the Congregational. The Congregationalists have made a very satisfactory compromise. It is like that of the husband who preferred to sleep on cotton sheets and the wife who had an equally decided preference for linen. When asked how they settled the matter, the wife replied complacently, "Oh, we compromised on linen."

Fortunately it is no such compromise as that, no form of union church which we are to discuss to-day. Christian co-operation in church extension, instead of suppressing one denomination at the expense of another, aims by concerted action to most effectively promote the common interest of them all. It offers no novelties either in polity or creed. Christian co-operation in church extension simply means that the several denominations shall consult together concerning the interests of the kingdom of Christ in a given territory, and so distribute their forces as to present at each point the most effective working force and the most attractive Christian life that a wise direction of their united strength makes possible. It proposes to found a Baptist church where a Baptist church will do more good than any other; to found a Methodist church where the needs of the community call for that; to encourage the growth of the Episcopal church among those who prefer its form of service; to foster Congregational and Presbyterian churches where there is a preponderance of Congregationalists or Presbyterians. The question what church a given locality most needs it proposes to settle in advance by friendly conference of all parties interested, instead of by cut-throat competition on the ground. And in those cases which cannot be decided by such friendly conference, it proposes to introduce the method which nations, in proportion as they become Christianized, are substituting for war, and which employers and employés, in proportion as they are Christianized, are substituting for strikes and lockouts—the method of arbitration. Certainly the church cannot afford to be the last to abandon an appeal to brute force and financial strength in the settlement of differences. We ought not to lag behind civil government and industrial enterprise in accepting the most peaceful and Christian method of adjusting disputed rights and rival claims. Christian co-operation in church extension is nothing more nor less than a proposition to do Christian work in a Christian way.

In this simple demand that the representatives of the different denominations shall meet together, and look into each other's faces, and frankly tell each other their purposes and plans, and plan together the wisest distribution of their several resources, there certainly is nothing unreasonable or unfair. The only possible objection is that it is impracticable. And to all doubt-

ers and sceptics on this point I have the irrefutable answer, It is practicable. We are actually doing this very thing in Maine.

The movement originated with a Methodist. Rev. C. S. Cummings, a delegate to our Congregational conference in 1890, in his communication to our body lamented the serious evils of denominational rivalry in small towns, and earnestly advocated the substitution of co-operation for competition in the prosecution of church work. Our Congregational conference at once appointed a committee of conference with other denominations upon the subject. A conference with representatives of the Baptist, Free Baptist, Methodist, and Christian denominations was held at Brunswick, December 15, 1890. We published a platform of principles, and agreed to bring the matter to the attention of our respective denominations at their next annual meetings. In 1891 we met again, at Waterville, reiterated our principles, held a public meeting, and mailed a full report of our proceedings to every pastor in the state. We voted to ask our denominations to send delegates to a meeting the following year with authority to form a permanent commission on the basis of the principles announced in our platform. In 1892, at Lewiston, we formed such a permanent commission, with constitution, officers, and committees. One committee was charged with the duty of collecting statistics concerning the needs of rural districts in the state. To another was assigned the work of keeping our principles and aims before the public by contributions to the secular and religious press. An executive committee, consisting of one member from each denomination, was appointed to settle questions of comity arising during the year, and to give advice in the name of the commission on such cases as might be referred to them.

The main points in our platform are as follows: "No community in which any denomination has legitimate claims should be entered by any other denomination through its official agencies without conference with the denomination or denominations having said claims. A feeble church should be revived, if possible, rather than a new one established to become its rival.

"The preferences of a community should always be regarded by missionary agents and individual workers.

"Those denominations having churches nearest at hand should, others things being equal, be recognized as in the most

advantageous position to encougage and aid a new enterprise in their vicinity.

"In case one denomination begins gospel work in a destitute community, it should be left to develop that work without other denominational interference.

"All questions of interpretation of the foregoing statements and all cases of friction between denominations should be referred to the commission through its executive committee."

During the year or two that the commission was in process of formation there were only two or three cases in which these principles were violated; although for years previous each denomination had been pushing its own work in utter disregard of the claims and rights of every other. And during the year that the commission has been actually organized there has not come to our knowledge a single case in which either the letter or the spirit of these principles has been disregarded.

A movement wider in scope, but less completely realized at present, was started by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. In accordance with a recommendation from that body, a conference of representatives of the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Reformed churches was held in New York, December 5, 1892. On December 13, 1892, a committee of that conference reported as follows:

"That each of the boards or societies represented has on record rules for the government of its agents in their interdenominational relations on missionary fields.

"The Presbyterian home missionary is required by the terms of his commission to 'avoid interfering improperly with existing organizations, or multiplying churches from mere sectarian considerations.'

"The Congregationalists say, 'It is the invariable rule of the society not to plant a Congregational church or mission on ground which, in the proper sense of the word, is cared for by other evangelical denominations.'

"The rule of the Reformed Church is 'not to gather a congregation in any community when the field is fully occupied by other evangelical churches.'

"The committee indorse these rules as wise, and sufficient to cover the whole ground, and needing only to be applied as circumstances arise.

"The committee, therefore, recommend in the first place that these rules be emphasized as of universal application.

"Secondly, that exceptional cases which may arise be referred to committees of conference on the field.

"Thirdly, in case of disagreement on the field, the question in dispute shall be referred to the secretaries of the Home Missionary Societies in New York.

"In regard to the feasibility of uniting small churches, it is recommended that each board or society inquire of its field agents what churches, if any, belonging to the different denominations can be served with one pastor or supply, the missionary grant in that case to be equitably divided between the several boards, and the churches to retain their denominational relations; also, that inquiry be made what church or churches be discontinued, and its members be advised to unite with some other evangelical church."

These movements are in the right direction; and, as far as they have gone, have been fruitful of good. They need to be extended. Every state in this Union should have something like the Maine Interdenominational Commission. Every evangelical denomination should be represented in a plan of co-operation similar to that adopted by representatives of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Reformed churches in New York. The time has come for us all to offer respecting these matters the prayer of Father Taylor, "O Lord, deliver us from bigotry and bad rum: thou knowest which is worse, I don't."

There are in the United States, according to the eleventh census, "143 separate and distinct denominations; each having its own officers, organization, title, and peculiarities of belief and practice."

This diversity of form in our church life is not in itself an unmixed evil. Variation in type and differentiation of members is the law of life for every living, growing thing. And the church of Christ in the United States is doubtless a richer, healthier, broader, more rational, more practical power to-day in consequence of this process of spontaneous variation and natural selection which has been producing and adapting particular denominations to meet peculiar needs. Still differentiation in this as in everything else, though an advantage, and even a luxury, is yet expensive. Only strong and populous communities can afford

it. The city that can have one store for dry goods, one for groceries, one for boots and shoes, one for hardware, one for wood and coal, one for books, one for music, one for millinery, can very well afford to have one church for Baptists, one for Methodists, one for Congregationalists, one for Episcopalians, one for Presbyterians: and in both cases it is the better off for the variety. But the attempt to cut up business as fine as that in a country town would be ruinous. No one who has his own capital at stake in business would be enough of a fool to try the experiment. Have we any more right to use the Lord's money in providing these country communities with ecclesiastical luxuries which they never can afford to support themselves? Have we any right to use money given for the purpose of carrying the gospel to communities that have it not,—have we any right to use that money to carry some special variety of the gospel to communities that have more varieties than they can support already? Yet that is what we have been doing for years. And in consequence we find everywhere needless organizations, empty churches, half-paid ministers, divided forces, wasted strength, scattered resources.

Of 1350 Protestant houses of worship in Maine 360 are reported vacant, and 136 more are simply "supplied" by pastors who reside elsewhere; 70 per cent of the churches represented in our commission have 100 members or less each; 41 per cent have 50 or less each; 17 per cent have 25 or less each. Of 242 Congregational churches in Maine 118 receive missionary aid. Only a little over half are self-supporting. There are 18 towns in Maine in which the average population is only 244, yet these 18 towns have 49 evangelical churches with 37 church buildings. One town of 470 people has three churches and three houses of worship. Another with 143 people has two churches.

From the opposite side of the continent comes the same sad story of superfluous and useless churches. Rev. George E. Hooker gives the following statistics of thirty towns in Washington, ranging from 150 to 2500 inhabitants: Six towns ranging in population from 150 to 300 have two Protestant churches each. Three of these churches have two, four, and five members respectively. The largest membership is 36; the average, less than 15. The total resident membership of the two churches in one of these towns is 35. Yet both churches have buildings built

with $400 and $500 missionary aid respectively. Another village of 200 has four struggling denominations, Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist. A town of 600 has four churches, two of which have buildings erected with $400 and $500 missionary aid; three receive missionary aid toward the pastor's salary. One town of 1500 has five buildings, all erected with missionary aid, ranging in amount from $500 to $1700 in each case. Six towns of from 2000 to 2600 inhabitants have 30 Protestant churches, or an average of five to a town. Of these 30 churches, 13 have a membership ranging from 4 to 30; and 20 have edifices built with from $250 to $2200 missionary aid, and 16 receive from $100 to $750 yearly from missionary funds toward the pastor's salary.

Such facts as these, together with the fact that a remedy is within easy reach of any one who is willing to apply it, render the duty of Christian co-operation in church extension imperative from every point of view.

First: We owe it to the contributors who support home missions. The contributions for home missions in the United States for 1890 were $6,717,558.03. This sum represents the consecration and self-sacrifice of the Christians of the nation for this cause. Yet at the very lowest estimate one quarter of it would have done more good (if you could have picked out the right quarter, the quarter which was spent in the support of superfluous churches), had it been cast into the depths of the sea. If I were a missionary secretary I should be ashamed to ask a single intelligent man to contribute to home missions as long as there rested on me the slightest responsibility of commission or omission for this wicked waste in which that intelligent man knows one quarter of his gift will be squandered. Under the competitive system the man who asks for contributions to home missions for the sake of advancing the kingdom of Christ is guilty of getting money under false pretences. What a considerable proportion of it is really used for is not the building up of the kingdom of Christ, but the building up of particular denominations at the expense of the kingdom of Christ. We owe it to our contributors to adopt a policy of co-operation which will guarantee that every dollar given to a denomination will go to build up the kingdom of Christ through the wise and judicious extension of the denomination through which the gift is given.

When home missionary bodies can appeal directly and honestly to the Christian business men of the country on this Christian business basis of co-operation, then, and not before, there will flow into their treasuries all the money they can wisely use.

Second: We owe it to our brave and devoted missionaries and their families, who are fighting to keep the old and declining villages of the East and win the young and growing townships of the West for Christ and Christian living. They have responded to the call of the church for volunteers; like loyal soldiers of the cross they have gone where their commanders have ordered:

> "Theirs not to make reply,
> Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do and die.
> Not though the soldier knew
> Some one had blundered."

Alas! In this case it is not that "some one" has blundered. Our whole plan of campaign has been one gigantic blunder. At least one half of the men whom I have known who have gone into home missionary work have felt that they have been betrayed into needless sacrifice for a hopeless cause: needless, because a wiser policy would have permitted others to do the work which they were sent to do; hopeless, because there was not enough material for all the laborers to work upon.

Let me give you in his own words the story of one of these heroic martyrs in a hopeless cause. "In the year 1886 we were happily located in a lovely New England town which we had no thought of leaving. The church was prosperous, and the relation between pastor and people was most happy. During the summer of that year the superintendent of a Northwestern field called repeatedly and pressed the claims of a needy field on the frontier so earnestly that we began to think it might be our duty to weigh the matter at least. This we did, my wife and I taking two sheets of paper on which we put in black and white all the pros and cons so far as we knew them. The reason which finally turned the scale against a score of reasons on the other side was the fact, as stated to us, that 'a church with no pastor, no preaching, no religious privileges must remain in this forlorn condition unless we responded to the call.' We knew that a hundred were ready to fill our place in the desirable pastorate we should

leave. Conscience decided the matter." After describing the hardships to which they were exposed upon their arrival, he continues: "All combined did not discourage us until we discovered that we had come to the place under a false impression. The church to which I had been called was largely made up of those who were strongly Methodist in their sentiments, and a Methodist elder was enraged to find the Congregationalists occupying the field. There were five ministers on the ground; one of whom, a Baptist, was meeting the needs of nine tenths of the people. In fact, the religious needs of the town were amply provided for, and we felt like the fifth wheel to a coach, no need and no place for us." With only about half a dozen Congregationalists he went to work, built a church, fought the saloons and gambling-dens, and for nine months did an excellent work. "But," he concludes, "I worked against odds from the first, because there was no room in the town for a Congregational church. In June I was obliged to give up, as I thought for a six weeks' vacation, but it proved a vacation of years instead of weeks. The field does not belong to the Congregationalists and never did. At the present writing (September, 1893) the Congregational church stands deserted on the prairie, while two other spires pierce the heavens, and Baptist and Methodist preachers feed the flock. I meanwhile am almost a total wreck, with agony packed in every nerve."

Is it too much to say that some one blundered in sending that man to that field? Is not the policy that permits such things itself a gigantic blunder?

In business, such blunders bring bankruptcy. In war, such blunders cost officers their commissions and bring armies to defeat. Do we not owe it to our noble army of missionaries to adopt a policy which shall guarantee to every man who enters the service that his life and labor shall not be spent in vain?

Third: We owe it to the people whom we seek to evangelize. It is not of much use to make a man a specialist in a particular branch of science unless you also make him a scholar. It is not of much use to make a man a Republican or a Democrat unless you also make him a patriot. It is not of much use to make a man a Baptist or an Episcopalian unless you at the same time make him a Christian. Yet the tendency of the minute subdivision of the church in small towns is to make men sectarians without being Christians. This very summer I was in a town where

the Congregationalists had been given a bell. The bell was rung occasionally to call together the Methodists, who had no bell. Whereupon one Congregationalist was so distressed that he travelled ten miles to ask the donor of the bell whether it was meant for the Congregationalists or for the community. The donor, fortunately, was both a Congregationalist and a Christian, and replied, "I gave the bell to the Christian community, and as long as it rings I don't see how you can keep the Methodists from hearing it." Is it any wonder that in that same town, when the presiding elder gave them their choice whether to have a separate minister or to unite with the Congregationalists, the Methodists voted (the two of them who constituted the church meeting) to have a minister of their own? And so that Congregational minister must go on for another year preaching to three quarters of the community three Sabbaths in the month, and travelling on the fourth Sabbath to a neighboring town, while a Methodist comes in to minister to the other quarter of the Christians in his town.

There is enough that is little and petty and narrow in rural life without introducing into it sectarian jealousy and strife. If we have nothing better than this to offer we ought to keep out altogether.

Fourthly, and finally: We owe it to Christ and our common Christianity. Christ came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. The Christian church should do likewise, or else do nothing. Unless the church can be a benefactor to the spiritual life of a community, unless it can be a leader of its daily work, a lawgiver to its business and political morality, a sanctifier of its social life, an educator of its youth in virtue, a comforter of its homes in sorrow, a safeguard of its manhood against temptation, it has no business there. Yet under the present system these are not and cannot be the most prominent aspects which the church presents. It is as circulators of subscription-papers, as managers of competing festivals and fairs, as originators of rival money-making devices, as centres of oratorical, musical, or ceremonial attraction, that these superfluous and feeble churches figure in the public eye. If we will have in these communities churches that shall represent rather than misrepresent the saving, serving, loving grace of Christ, we must adopt the policy of planting strong, self-respecting, self-supporting, community-serving churches,

where they are needed, in place of this wretched policy of thrusting in mendicant, impotent, self-seeking, community-plundering churchlings where they are not needed. We owe it to the Christ whom we serve and whose name these churches bear that they shall not stand as beggars asking alms alike of saint and sinner; but shall everywhere be a mighty, independent power to help and bless the poor man, be he virtuous or vicious, and to rebuke and awe the knave and the oppressor, whether he be poor or rich.

To sum up, these are the claims of co-operation in church extension. It is fair to all denominations, for it leaves each supreme within its own sphere, merely asking it to direct its efforts in harmony with the efforts which others are making for the common cause. The beginning made in Maine shows that it is practicable. Hundreds of abandoned churches; thousands of superfluous organizations; millions of squandered money; unnumbered martyr missionaries proclaim the need of radical reform. The duty of economical expenditure of missionary funds, and wise direction of missionary effort; the duty of giving the people a broad and generous gospel, and of making Christianity a potent force for social good, commands us to co-operate. The times of ignorance incidental to early pioneering are past. We may trust that God winked at the rude and barbarous sins of those early days. Now the facts are before the world. Nothing but wilful love of darkness can prevent any man or any denomination from bringing their missionary doings to the light of Christian conference. Henceforth the denomination that dares to carry on its missionary work in avowed disregard of the interests of God's kingdom as represented by other bodies of Christians will do so in open defiance of the God who is equally the Father of all his children, and in flagrant disobedience of the Christ whose law requires the bearing of one another's burdens.

Christian co-operation in church extension is no far-off vision of church union; no speculative theory of an ultimate catholic church. It is a plain, practical duty which the churches as they are now constituted ought to do at once. That the doing of that duty now will lead to large results in the future we may well believe. Yet that it will destroy or harm any worthy form of church, none need fear. Neither this nor any scheme man can devise will reduce to uniformity the diverse denominations which we have to-day. We may, however, bring to pass before this

nineteenth century shall close what is more in harmony with the organic life of nature, with the trend of history, with the spirit of our civil government. We may develop, not the unity which is a dead and monotonous absence of difference; not the unity which is a shallow and superficial ignoring of difference; not the unity which is an arbitrary and tyrannical suppression of difference; but the deeper, richer, mightier unity which is founded on difference, and is expressed through the harmonious co-operation of the many members which together constitute the unity of its organic life. The dream of an American church may remain as idle as the dream of an American empire. Yet, as out of the voluntary conference of independent colonies for defence against a common foe and the establishment of satisfactory commerce there has grown the Union of the United States, with supreme authority in national affairs; so out of the co-operation of independent denominations against the common foe of sin and for the establishment of Christian righteousness shall be raised up the united churches of America, with supreme authority to guide and guard the spiritual interests of the land.

REMARKS BY MR. MORNAY WILLIAMS, OF NEW YORK, REPRESENTING THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I suppose I shall be fully justified in your eyes in taking the same position which the preceding speaker has taken, replying entirely from the standpoint of the denominations that are represented here to-day.

I shall have to make a confession in the opening few words I shall say, that the Baptists have not made the contribution to Christian unity which they certainly ought to have made. It seems to me that they have not made it for the reason that they have forgotten the due gradation of the truths for which they believe themselves to stand.

More and more as I have thought of this matter, I have been impressed with the truth of the necessity in the minds of other men of a true gradation of truth, of holding those things first which are first, and those things secondary which are secondary.

Now, I am afraid I must confess it has been among Baptists

the habit to emphasize the lines of denominational demarcation rather than the essential principles which justify, if anything justifies, their separate existence.

I suppose that no one would contradict me if I said that those things which are supposed to be the essential objects of the Baptist denomination are baptism by immersion, and close communion; yet these are not at all the things that ought to represent or do truthfully represent the things for which Baptists, as a denomination, ought to stand.

They stand, if I understand the principles of the denomination for entirely greater things and much greater principles than these. They stand, with our brother, for the independence of the local church; they stand for a denomination that holds that there is but one creed in the Bible, and no creed made by man; and they stand for a regenerate church membership. There would be nothing in the struggle for the distinctive things to which I have alluded, if they were rightly regarded as corollaries that ought not to be emphasized. There is a demonstration of weakness in emphasizing secondary things that have nothing to do with the essential principles of the denomination, and it is upon these that we have laid the emphasis instead of emphasizing the essential things, and as a consequence we have not contributed what we ought to have done toward holding the other truths and toward bringing about the great kingdom of God, which is the one mission of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

I am the more convinced that this is right, because I can go back to the chiefs whom I have been trained to reverence and plant myself entirely on the principles they professed. I suppose there is no one who knows anything of the history of the denomination I represent, and of its missionary work, who does not know that with the possible exception of William Carey there is no name more honored than that of Andrew Fuller.

Now Andrew Fuller, writing a letter to my grandfather, said something like this. I can almost, I think, quote the words: "It is necessary for a man to hold that first which is first, and that secondary which is secondary. Among us in this portion of England I have seen that which is known as 'dissent' insisting on that which is secondary, in place of that which is first. Had their zeal been first for those truths for which it ought to have

been in the first instance, they would not have become dissenters to their own creed."

"You may or may not agree with me in that particular, but the essential thing is to make men Christians. If our zeal be laid out in making men dissenters, or, to come down to a particular instance, making men Baptists, God will frown upon us and leave us; but if we are determined to make men Christians, then his blessings will be with us."

Brethren, it seems to me that this is the whole case stated a hundred years before its time. What we need to bring about that for which we all look, Christian unity, is the earnest effort of Christian co-operation. The Master came to seek and to save the lost. That was the avowed purpose of his being in the world at all. It was the essential of his incarnation. That could be done by various agencies. We have his own authority for saying this. Let every man pursue the truth as God gives him to see the truth, and let him never forget that the first thing is the making of men Christians. The first thing is the salvation of the lost, and then we shall welcome any agency, no matter what the lines of difference in our thinking, no matter what the differences between the platforms on which we stand—we shall welcome any agency that makes toward the one grand end; and we shall condemn ourselves, we shall condemn others who stand closest to us in thought and doctrine when they divide from us in seeking that one great end.

Oh for the spirit of the Master, who all through those thirty-three years of suffering life looked to one great end, that the whole church of God, the church militant, might look forward to the day when it should become the church triumphant—not the Baptist Church, not the Presbyterian Church, not the Episcopal Church, but the church of Christ, the church which gathers into its fold every other one, which yearns for the salvation of all, that one church of which he is the true and only life! If that spirit can come into the church here, then all differences will fall away. We should not indeed be uniform in doctrine. It was never intended we should be. We should not all "see eye to eye" in that sense, but we should see "eye to eye" in the way in which we ought to see, the one in which the prophet meant—"when the Lord shall bring again Zion;" and so

the change shall be inaugurated on all the city walls, until at last is realized on earth that heavenly city, the new Jerusalem above.

REMARKS BY REV. JOSEPH B. CLARK, D.D., SECRETARY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, NEW YORK.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The appearance of two Congregationalists upon this platform and upon this same question may strengthen the suspicion raised by President Hyde in opening his paper that there is a Congregational conspiracy going on; and yet you will see very soon that if we have conspired together this morning, we are very unwise conspirators, because we have not compared our facts before presenting them. There will be some difference of opinion even in the Congregational branch.

I ask a few minutes of your time for a statement of the faith and practice of Congregationalists with respect to the subject under discussion.

The point of view is that of an executive officer in the Congregational Church Planting Society, whose base of supplies is mainly New England and the East, but whose outposts of effort are scattered throughout forty-six states and territories. From this wide circuit east, west, and south the public sentiment of the churches pours into our office by every mail. It is here that approval and complaint are sure to focus, and here, if anywhere, that the Congregational pulse upon this question may be accurately taken. I feel no doubt that the statement to follow would be indorsed by every one of our more than five thousand churches, four fifths of which are the society's own planting, and our more than a half million of members would recognize its substantial truth.

1. *Congregationalists are predisposed to be tolerant of every form of evangelical Christianity.*

Being bound by no historical creed we are free to admire and adopt the best things of all other creeds. Hence our churches are as Arminian as the Methodists. They practice immersion

with the Baptists. A goodly number of them are almost as ritualistic as the Episcopalians, and west of the Hudson River they have enriched Presbyterian and Reformed churches with the best Congregational blood of New England.

It results that the least sectarian of sects is the Congregational sect. In the view of many it is not sectarian enough for its own advantage. Until a recent date only two of its benevolent boards have ever admitted the word "Congregational" into their charters or corporate names. It has come to be a proverb that our people bestow their gifts quite as freely upon other sects as upon their own. With the average Congregationalist the plea that has the least power to move his heart is the purely denominational plea, while any good cause that comes pleading its claim under the name of "union" possesses a well-nigh magic charm for Congregational sympathy and support.

We have been called the common denominator of the denominations, and the figure of the rope of sand has been worn out by constant use among our ecclesiastical neighbors to express their pity of our incohesive condition. Whether this reputation is wholly to our praise or not is a question under debate among Congregationalists themselves. But whatever drift may reveal itself in certain quarters towards greater self-consciousness as a sect, the Congregational instinct of friendly toleration is ingrained in the life of the denomination and can never be eradicated. Whatever church of whatever name exalts a divine Savior and teaches redemption through his blood alone has a sovereign title to Congregational sympathy, esteem, and love.

2. *Congregationalists believe in denominational courtesy, and try to practise it.*

Proselytism in all its forms is a deadly offenee to the denomination, and a Congregational propaganda is unknown in its history. In five thousand Congregational churches, next Sabbath morning, a reporter intent on learning what mannar of thing Congregationalism is might not hear the name spoken in any part of the service. He would certainly fail to hear one word of depreciation from a Congregational pulpit against any other evangelical church or body. For the preacher who could so far forget the claims of Christian courtesy as to indulge in this form of attack would instantly lose caste among his own people.

A few months since the pastor of an eastern church preached

a discourse on Congregationalism in which, with perfect courtesy towards all others, he magnified its virtues. The surprise of his people was unbounded; and the good taste of the preacher was called in question by some of his more intelligent hearers. The fact is typical. Congregationalists believe warmly in their own church and worship. They prefer these to any other; yet they do not assume to possess all truth or knowledge. They find the sanction of their simple polity in the New Testament, but they do not deny the Scriptural authority of other polities. They practise the ordinances as they receive and understand them, but do not dispute the right of others to do the same. Least of all do they seek to unsettle others to their own advantage.

I never knew but one bigoted Congregationalist. He soon tired of his loneliness and went over to the Roman Catholic church, illustrating the truth of the old proverb that too far east may be west. An exception or two of this character do not affect the claim for Congregationalists that wherever they plant themselves they are not merely tolerant of other churches of Christ, but they respect their rights, they pray for their peace, and they rejoice without envy in their prosperity.

3. *Congregationalists believe in the wise economy of missionary funds, both their own and those of their neighbors.*

The officers of the Home Missionary Society have excellent reason to remember that nothing is more abhorrent or provokes sharper criticism in Congregationalist circles than the undue multiplication of churches in new or feeble communities. In nothing are they held to stricter account by the entire denomination than in this matter. Let the suspicion gain ground that a Congregational church has been planted where it will not be needed except for sectarian purposes, and the instant rebuke of such a policy is manifest in the decline of home-missionary funds. By far the more frequent complaints of this kind come to us, not from other missionary boards that are the immediate sufferers by this injurious competition, but they come from Congregational givers themselves. The wickedness of such rivalry on missionary ground is condemned first of all by our own churches, the waste of consecrated money is deplored throughout the entire denomination, and the instinct of the whole body feels itself offended.

It is for this reason that the working rule of our Church

Planting Society, adopted by the executive committee and commended with emphasis to all its field agents and superintendents, is enthusiastically indorsed by the entire denomination. The rule is this:

"The relations of this society to other societies doing missionary work on the same field should be carefully guarded by our superintendents and the claims of comity and Christian courtesy always respected. It is the invariable rule of the society not to plant a Congregational church on ground which in the proper sense of the word is cared for by other evangelical denominations."

That this law is not a dead-letter is proved by the fact that of the 2100 fields occupied by the society, outside of large cities, 1572 are held by us alone without any other evangelical church to divide the ground. In other words, seventy-five per cent of our home missionary work is in communities where there is neither a Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Reformed, or Episcopal church. The remaining 528 fields we share with one or more of these ecclesiastical neighbors. Yet in most of these a large and growing population justifies this double occupancy, while in a goodly number of the remaining we were the first to enter and cannot blame ourselves for any subsequent crowding that may now exist.

For many years we have been laboring to secure a complete system of conference between the agents of all the church-planting societies for the equitable and economical division of the ground between them, and we were the first to respond to the recent overture of the Presbyterian Church for a mutual compact whereby all disputed claims for possession should be referred to a local committee for arbitration. Such a compact, we thank God, exists between the Presbyterian, the Reformed, and the Congregational boards, and our gratitude will be complete when Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians shall cordially strike hands with us in a similar confederation.

Finally: *Need it be said after these statements that Congregationalists are more than willing, they are ready and eager from this hour to co-operate with Christians of every name in church extension or, if need be, in church extinction?*

Show us anywhere in the wide field that a Congregational church has unjustly crowded upon its neighbors to their hurt,

and while we have no ecclesiastical authority to close its door, whatever we can do by the withdrawal of missionary funds from its support shall be cheerfully done. Prove to us in a fair and mutual conference that our presence in any community is the cause of weakness or division and that our retirement will strengthen the things that remain, and by every tradition of our order we will esteem it our first duty to retire. Make it clear that any other church than our own is fittest to survive and do the best work for God and for men, and, whether the survivor be Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Reformed, Episcopal, or even the Salvation Army, we will yield to the verdict and bid a loving God-speed to the presumptive heir.

And in the newer regions of the land yet to be divided and settled we will meet you, brethren, in the spirit of Christian comity, and we pledge ourselves to take only what by the common verdict belongs to us to possess. In Oklahoma or Florida, in New Mexico or the Dakotas, in Montana or in Washington, we will meet you and say with Abraham, that fine old Congregationalist, "Is not the whole land before us? If thou wilt take the left hand, then we will go to the right, or if thou depart to the right hand, then we will go to the left. We pray you let there be no strife between us, for we be brethren."

REMARKS BY REV. J. ELMENDORF, D.D., OF NEW YORK, REPRESENTING THE REFORMED (DUTCH) DENOMINATION.

YOU are not much more surprised than I am, for I have only had notice for the past two minutes or more that I was to say something on this matter. I had some preparation, however, out of my experience in trying to form a union between the Reformed Dutch and the German Church of this country. For five years, upon appointment of our General Synod, I have been laboring with our brethren to bring together a federated union of these two bodies. I would further say that the churches have now precisely the same name, excepting that one is the Reformed Church in the United States, and the other the Reformed Church in America, having precisely the same organization; and I would also say that they are longing to come back in both of these

organizations when the thing can be effected, and so we began to think of organic union, but we saw at our last conference that this was an impossibility and then we thought of a federate union, and after four years of careful work we had a plan we submitted, and the first section was adopted unanimously by the German and by more than three hundred of the Dutch members; and then it was sent back again to remedy a point in the next clause, and there is this spirit of difference that seemingly can never be cured, and the whole thing is at sea again, and never more to be touched, I think, by this generation.

I am persuaded that you have got to begin your union of Christians in the formation of churches upon common ground, illustrating the true principles of our whole religion; and when you have done that long enough, the churches themselves that are so contrary will be shamed into a union.

Now, beloved, I am not stopping to argue at all; I just want to say this thing, that Doctor Hyde's paper ought to be sealed in the mind of every Christian who has heard it, and by and by in the mind of every Christian who reads it.

A little while ago I read a short article in the New York *Observer* about Christian inconsistency. The point was that millions and millions of dollars were being spent to make magnificent churches and temples for the gratification of Christian vanity, while millions upon millions of heathen are being left in their ignorance. That was called magnificent Christian inconsistency. Well, I suppose Christian inconsistency is just as bad as any other; but I feel the force of all that has been said here this morning in the expenditure of money in building churches where they are not needed. It is just as great a Christian inconsistency, and it illustrates so many other elements of inconsistency that we must by all means co-operate to prevent this thing.

We were told, you know, and I have used the argument pretty often, when helping to dedicate magnificent temples to the service of God, that the Jews piled up their gold and silver and precious stones upon the temple of God, and God approved of it. Well, beloved, that was when they could not do anything else with their superfluous money but pile it up in their houses. That was before the Son of God came down to the world to teach men of mercy and of pardon, saying, "Go ye into all the world and preach the

gospel to every creature." Anything that prevents our going to the individual in any community, heathen or Christian, and preaching the gospel to every creature, is just so much in the way of the growth of the kingdom of God, contradicts the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and is an inconsistency which must be cured by the earnest efforts as well as by the fervent prayers of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth.

Remarks by Rev. S. B. Barnitz, D.D., of Des Moines, representing the Lutheran Denomination.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I am here this morning, and I am glad to find in the chair one with whom I have had most hearty co-operation since we were young men together. And I am glad to be here because one whose name is a host in itself, in everything pertaining to the Evangelical Alliance, was one of the fathers of the church in this country, the Rev. Samuel Schmucker, who made, if I am not mistaken, the first overtures concerning co-operation in this field. I am glad also to be here because oftentimes we, as a denomination, are greatly misunderstood for the reason that we cannot with many of our sister-denominations do exactly the same kind of work.

In other words, we have a very big field. Our sister-denominations as a rule are doing their home-mission work in but one language. We are obliged to give our people the gospel in five or six or seven different languages, as they come to us from our great church in the Fatherland. So that in going into a community, say into a small one perhaps, a community not large enough in the estimation of many for more than one church or two churches, and where all the rest might co-operate in establishing a home-mission church, we find fifteen or twenty or thirty families to whom such a church would be of little account, because they could not understand the language in which the gospel would be given them by a missionary of a sister-denomination.

Our policy is, so far as the language of this country is concerned, not to go anywhere where a town has been "overchurched." We do not need to do that. Our theory from the

beginning has been in opposition to proselyting; we do not believe that God's kingdom is built up by taking sheep out of one fold and putting them into another. It does not add to the number of the sheep in the flock at all.

So I say we are differently situated from all our sister-denominations in this regard. We are obliged to give the gospel not only in the language of this country, but in German, and Swedish, and Danish, and Norwegian, and Danish-Norwegian, and Icelandic, and Finnish. I say we are oftentimes misunderstood with reference to language, and we do not receive credit for the wonderful work that the great church of the Augsburg Confession is doing in this and other lands.

I will illustrate by something which occurs at times in some of our cities. You take up a Monday-morning paper in some of the cities where we have a large German population, as for example St. Louis or Cincinnati, and you may see a notice that the Lutherans, or Moravians, or some others, went out on their annual excursion, and the beer flowed freely and the dance went on, because these people know how to enjoy themselves. Now what is the fact? Why, these people had no more connection with the evangelical bodies mentioned than they did with the World's Fair. It was simply some independent society calling itself a congregation but in nowise connected with an evangelical church; but it happened that the reporter gave credit to the great church for such a disgraceful thing, a sort of thing against which we constantly protest.

Seventeen years ago, my beloved, any bright morning, or cloudy morning either, the great Northwest of Minnesota, and the Dakotas, and Idaho, and Montana might have waked up and found itself carried off politically or otherwise by Roman Catholics. This is different to-day. These seventeen years have brought a population to these states and territories changing their face entirely and making them Protestant. They are our people, who had the gospel given them as they had been accustomed to it in their own languages, and it has been given to their children in the language of this country: and I need not say in such a presence as this that many of the best people for Christian work coming to these shores are these people. I need not tell an intelligent audience like this that these people have a sound Christian life that knows no materialism in their own land, that knows no de-

fections. Their influence as Christians is long known in those lands by the testimony of history, and they are a people coming here who will produce and are producing wonderful blessings for this great land of ours. These are the people and their children to whom we are called to minister, and it is not possible for us to do so as some of our sister-denominations can in the same language, or go into the smaller towns and unite with them in Christian work, because that would not be fulfilling our mission to the multitude of our people who are coming to our shores every year.

In heart, and hand, and work, we are heartily with the Alliance; but if we are asked, as oftentimes we are, by some of those who do not understand our situation, not to go into a place where there are thirty, or forty, or fifty, or sixty, or seventy, understanding not the language of this country at all, and if we should comply, the result would be that they would not have the gospel. For this reason, my beloved, we cannot go so heartily with the Alliance, though as a part of it we should protest against ourselves if we should ever think of going into an overchurched town and establishing churches in the language of this country. The field is so immense for us and our own children.

I believe Doctor Strong will agree with me that there are six to seven millions of children of these people who are growing up in the language of the country, to whom we are called upon to minister, and we are steadily doing a great evangelieal work in connection with sister-denominations everywhere that we come in contact with them.

I have been glad to be with you and give these our views, and assure you of our hearty co-operation in every way possible to bring about what you desire, without neglecting our own.

Mr. DODGE: The Presbyterian body had arranged to send Doctor Roberts, Secretary of their Board of Home Missions, to represent them here this morning. But by a misunderstanding of the time he was here yesterday morning prepared to speak, and unfortunately had to leave the city last night. I am going now to ask Doctor King to say a word for the Methodist Church, that magnificent, powerful, and aggressive body which is doing such grand work, and then I am going to ask Bishop Fowler, in the absence of Doctor Roberts, to say a word for the Presbyterian Church.

REMARKS BY REV. JAMES M. KING, D.D., OF NEW YORK, REPRESENTING THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL DENOMINATION.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS: I am not an official representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but as the chairman has brought the talking around so that Bishop Fowler is to speak for the Presbyterians, I suppose it will be proper for me to respond to his request.

That was a magnificent "ball-play" by President Hyde, and it was at the right angle. It was clear because growing out of experience, instead of laying down principles in talking of co-operation. In the interest of that to which President Hyde referred, personally I should be glad to join a society for Christian cooperation in church extinction. It is true of partially-settled communities, as it is true of individual churches, that there is no hope for life in aggressiveness unless there are a few first-class funerals.

I hold that to-day the great scandal and weakness of Protestant Christians in this country is the intolerance among denominations, and, what is worse still, the intolerance within distinctive families constituting the denominations. We talk and pass resolutions and determine to do great things to resist the aggressions of socialism and solve the problems of the relationship of the church of Christ to the masses, and attend ten times as much to denominational bickerings as we do to presenting an undivided front against the common enemy.

Once it was true that doctrinal reasons furnished at least an assumed reason for occupying the territory of a common denomination which had already been preoccupied. That was the time when Calvinism and Calvinists pronounced anathemas against Romanists and Romanism, and considered that part of the work of Calvinism. I think the time has come when the fight is certainly not on theological lines and in magnifying the distance between the denominations, instead of lifting up Christ as the central figure of our hope; and our co-operation in practice must come from our personal relationship to Jesus Christ, the Savior who has redeemed us all.

Methodism in this country in the line of church extension has been sinned against in one direction and has been a sinner, perhaps, in another. It has been sinned against largely by other

denominations, growing out of this one fact that our ministry is a sent and not a called ministry, and you know that ordinarily in missionary districts Methodism is first in the field, because they do not wait for meeting-houses to be built and for somebody to be called. The preachers go to the barns and cottages, and in a multitude of cases when the country has been evangelized, in come the dear brethren and say, "Now it is time to organize a church."

We have sinned in the territories where old churches had been founded and where we thought the theology was so perfectly horrible that we must go there to revise the theology and plant the Methodist Church.

I am not here by any official right to say what we will do or what we will not do, but I am here to say personally, as one of the Methodist Episcopalians of this country, that in every purpose that has for its end the bringing of the kingdom of Christ in this world, making men better, and making the field fruitful for righteousness, Methodism will meet the other denominations more than half way. But we have touched, it seems to me, the greatest problem of all in co-operation. It is well enough to talk about pay for missionary districts, but the problem that is to be solved is, how are we to co-operate in the centres of population? It is easy enough where your churches are dying out because of the thinning of the population and they are needed no longer; it is easy enough at any meeting of the conference to get together and say we will agree that such a denomination shall take that territory, and such a denomination shall take that, but what are we going to do about it in the centres of population where, according to the results of the last census, twenty-nine per cent of the entire population is to be found? If this continent is to be taken for God, if our great cities are to be conquered, if the hosts of righteousness in this country are to stand shoulder to shoulder, the first place where we are to do it is in the cities; and with Christ as the captain of our salvation we should occupy such fields as sanctified conscience shall dictate.

Mr. DODGE: I now have the great pleasure of introducing to you Bishop Fowler of the Methodist Church, who in the kindness and Christian spirit of his heart is going to say a word for the Presbyterian Church.

REMARKS BY BISHOP CHARLES H. FOWLER, D.D., LL.D., OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I want to thank you, sir, for the cordiality and kindness with which I am assigned to this post of honor. I will next be deeply thankful if you will furnish me with something to say.

I will say that I felt a little touch of the importance of this new place, for when my friend Doctor King was uttering what seemed to me a fair view of the situation, I wanted to say "Amen," but I remembered I had been made a Presbyterian.

I want to say further, Mr. Chairman, that I think I am so far a Presbyterian that I have great faith in the order of Providence concerning the churches. I think we work at them, and plan for them, and pray about them, but back of our working, and above our praying, and in defiance of our thinking, is the Spirit of the living God upon the people, and the power of his great providence moulding and shaping our ends. I want to say that I have made that statement as the basis for another I wish to make, namely: I am a believer in the existence and in the independence and affairs and activities of the distinctively Methodist branches of Protestantism. I know a great many people that I believe can be worked and developed and matured for salvation in the great church to which I am now "transferred" better than they can in any other flock or in any other regiment. I am not a all uneasy about the little talk that is thrown at us about our great denominations. I think them to be, in the substance and sweep of their work, of GOD. Of course, however, all jesting aside, it is distinctly understood that I am a thorough believer in the Methodist Church, but I need to say nothing to the men with whom I have worked to persuade them of the broadest sympathy and warmest rejoicing in the success of every evangelical church. More than that. I believe I do not need to spend very much time pelting at the churches that do not depend on our Lord Jesus Christ and faith in him for salvation. We sometimes talk about the disturbances among Protestant denominations, and there is a comfortable rivalry, very seldom too much, but we do not equal the disturbances in the Roman Catholic Church. History is full of the great strifes between her great

societies. Let one of them get dominion in Rome, and you will see the Jesuits pack their goods and go out of every province that some of the other societies control. Rome fights only for the external unity. Protestantism wants an internal unity. Rome is like a kangaroo. It has a sack or pouch in which it caries its young, and if there is any little disturbance, on some signal from the old kangaroo the little ones leap in out of sight, and there is the greatest appearance of external unity you could possibly desire, and the old animal goes on with the little animals fighting like Satan under cover. Protestantism is more like a monkey riding on the back of a pony at a circus. It is all done on top, and goes for the entertainment of the public. For my part, I would rather we had our strifes that we do have, open-handed and face to face, with the conviction of our hearts back of them, than be smothered by some great enveloping mother that wishes to represent that we have what we have not.

There are a great many lines in which we are growing together, and I believe we shall grow together; but it is possible, Mr. Chairman, for us to come to such an undue surrender of everything that is peculiar to us that in it we surrender our sense of obligation to do something. That is a point we need to avoid. If it is understood that a "union church" will go into a little town and care for all their spiritual interests, you know how apt we are to feel a little reckless concerning that town, and the man that goes in there with the monoply is almost necessarily himself a little reckless. But there is something in the generous rivalry that puts us on our mettle, and so I believe that the work side by side of the different denominations in a great city like this, and in most of the cities of this country, and in the towns that are large enough to maintain more than one church, a friendly rivalry, as well as co-operation, tends to the advancement of the kingdom of God and the upholding of his name among men.

Now I love the other churches. I am glad to see them succeed. I have yet to do the first thing, in so much as a thought, to hinder anything any evangelical church sees fit to do, but I verily believe that sometimes we are best in the old-fashioned way, holding on to the church in which we have been trained.

I am aware that some of us say, "You ought to find in the sweep of the kingdom of Christ so much of inspiration and gift

and uplift that you will not at all need any of these stilts or side spurs." I accept that as theoretically true, but practically I find, for instance, that one of the best things to stir up our Methodist work where the conditions and circumstances are favorable—and I think it would stir up our Presbyterian work just about as much—is to wave the red flag of Rome before them. They will gather up their forces, put on their spurs, and they will add twenty per cent to their effort.

I like a good woman, and a good many good women; but there is only one that is my wife. So I like the churches; but there is in another and deeper sense one church that commands my steadfast loyalty and my most unwavering purpose. There was an old woman down in Kendall county; she was bowed and wrinkled, and a little brown, and her hair was thin and gray, and I do not think any of you would have thought she was handsome, but she was my mother. So this Methodist Church has sustained such relations to me that she is my mother, and must be in the years of my activity more than any other, and I know that is true of all of us.

I have a conviction and feeling that there are a great many things about the Presbyterian Church that we as Methodists might profit by. I like the steady, straightforward, on-coming, and formal development of Calvin in the Presbyterian Church. I think I never saw a Presbyterian that wanted anybody to tell him he was respectable before he could be happy. They have the assurance of faith growing out of their work, concerning the formulas that the Lord gives them.

Then I like that great Baptist Church, that hard-working, two-fisted, determined, aggressive, and growing church. She does a vast amount that I think we could profit by. She does sometimes secure men we have almost finished and we do not profit by, but she is a great church and I can gladly work within her bounds.

And so I might go around the list; separate in our formulas, but one in heart; separate in our individual preferences, but one in our determination and purpose, fighting, as I think, for the unity set forth in the seventeenth chapter of John, where we are to be one with the Master, one in heart; and I say, the Lord bless these great churches and help us with the solid front, side by side like different regiments in the army, keeping our faces toward

the common foe, Satan, and doing our best for the uplifting of our poor race unto righteousness, and then in a little time, when we have shed our peculiarities, and taken our inheritances, and have gotten free from the blight of our grandmothers, and out into the unknown to-morrow, we shall see that in the essentials we have been one, and have done our best.

Mr. DODGE: I want to thank our dear Bishop Fowler for representing my denomination. In the change I think he has got just a little mixed in his theology. It was very natural. He said, and said very truly, that we shall be all one in that better, brighter land; but in our close Presbyterian study of the Bible we can never forget that tender word of Christ, "that they all may be one" and "that they may be one, even as we are one." I have great faith in a closer coming together.

Bishop FOWLER: I am willing to meet you two thirds of the way.

Mr. DODGE: I know you are in the right way and will, I am sure, join with the whole community of Christians here in doing what we can, God helping us, to bring something of heaven upon earth, praying, as we do every day, that his kingdom may come and his will be done upon earth, to better prepare us for a closer and more beautiful union in the world to come. We are all here alike in that, I know.

Bishop FOWLER: I want to say just a word more. I haven't any doubt your interpretation is a wise one, and here is a little thing that rather impressed it upon me.

This I take to be a copy of that old statue of Demosthenes that used to stand in the curia at Athens, and these arms are what they call a restoration. [Referring to a plaster cast upon a pedestal, near which the speaker had been seated.] And they have been in trouble about this, as I remember. You see they look a little long. They are "restored," and are not the original. The real arms came down together; for a boy once stood in Athens at the side of this statue of Demosthenes, and the boy had a little money he knew would be taken away from him, so he put it into the hands of the statue, which he could not have done if the arms had been as long as these, and the hands did not come together. And so it is with us men who have been "restored": our hands are clear apart, but when we get the real arms, our hands will come together.

CHRISTIAN CO-OPERATION AND THE SOCIAL MISSION OF THE CHURCH.

By Arthur T. Pierson, D.D., of Philadelphia.

The church differs from the individual in being a society—an aggregation or association of individuals, organized upon social principles, governed by social laws, subject to social obligations. To demonstrate that the church has a "social mission" is to prove an axiom. Its social mission constitutes its *raison d'être*—its *quo warranto*—the justification for its existence.

Sin's revolt against God was also a revolt of man against man—a social revolution, inverting the whole social order so that the natural sovereigns became slaves, and slaves, masters. God organized the primitive church as an essentially heavenly society, *civitas dei*, a model state, let down from above to exhibit and exemplify the principles and practices of a celestial kingdom, and to extend their sway until all worldly society shall be reorganized on the heavenly pattern—a tabernacle of God set up among men as a type, until, built upon this model, the race of man itself becomes the temple of God.

So vital to the church is this social mission that, so far as it is denied in theory or neglected in practice, the church forfeits its right to be, and, like a lampstand without a light, risks removal out of its place. In a service so essential even lukewarmness is threatened with a Laodicean fate.

It is therefore of the first consequence to form a true conception of the church and its mission. For this no other guide is needed than the New Testament, where the church is presented in a fourfold aspect: as a worshipping assembly, a working centre, a school, and a home.

1. Worship is worthship describing God's infinite worth, ascribing to him the glory due to such worth, inscribing homage on the walls of his temple, the doorposts of our houses, the very palms of our hands, and the expanse of our brows. The fact that

worshippers meet in solemn assembly, is, itself, a tribute to the Unseen Presence; and the absence of any form or image of Deity, and of the charms of art, witnesses to the beauty of holiness which alone attracts him, and before the glory of which mere æsthetic splendors are the mockery of tinsel. You cannot gild gold. The purity of worship implies therefore a certain indifference to mere worldly art, as stars are lost sight of at sunrise.

2. The church of the Acts is a working centre, where disciples rally in order to radiate—concentration, then diffusion. Service is not enjoined, but assumed as a necessity of the new nature. Stagnation is death: life is motion, action, power in exercise. The spring compels the stream; the lamp that burns, shines; doing is the proof and fruit of being, and giving, the sign and pledge of living. A self-centred existence is a dead sea. Inpour without outflow turns even living waters into bitterness and decay.

3. The primitive church was a school both of truth and life. The young convert came there to grow and to learn; from the "rudiments" or first "principles" of the gospel, to move onward and upward, until the last lesson is learned in doctrine and duty; in serving and suffering; and, when graduated from this preparatory school, to enter that higher university where study never ends, and there is no graduating class, and no alumni. Hence God gave the church-school, an inspired text-book, and the author himself as teacher, who makes each true pupil an illustrated, illuminated edition of the text-book.

4. The New Testament church is also a home, and, as such, a model of ideal social relations, exhibiting a social equality elsewhere unknown. In every true home, love is the leveller of all invidious distinctions, using not the iron flail of Talus, but the soft hand of an angel, herself stooping to serve; whose unselfish ministry allows a new distinction, a partiality for need and helplessness. Thought and care find a focus in the sick and aged, the crippled and suffering. The world courts those who can give; love gives most where she cannot receive. And so God meant his church to be the ideal home, with a warm hearth, a full board, a soft bed, a close embrace, for all who come within its doors.

Such a church must see its social mission, from its very fitness for such mission; its every aspect is vocal with aptitude for service to society. The worship which seems to terminate and ultimate upon God and the worshipping soul is a witness to the world

mightier than words. Work is service, and schooling is training for work: lessons in living, whose goal is usefulness, finding out one's powers and sphere, and getting full equipment, the measure of manly stature, and the panoply of the warrior. And the home! what is that but the ideal democracy, with no caste lines of wealth or poverty, culture or ignorance, high life or low life—where to come is to be welcome, and where want and woe find free and loving ministries!

The church of to-day will never fulfil her social mission without a return toward the "pattern showed in the Mount." Depravity, even in disciples, has brought degeneracy. The lapse of time has seen a relapse of spiritual life, and few features are left which marked the apostolic church. Behold worship decline, until the censer is more than the incense; the priest and altar, than the lamb and the fire; until the artistic and the æsthetic displace the scriptural and the spiritual. See service decay, until most disciples content themselves with a hired proxy, and some begrudge and withhold even the hire. The primitive school is no more, and more zeal is often shown for many converts than for growth and strength, stalwart and serviceable disciples. The home has too often sunk to the level of the club, exclusive and seclusive, where self rules, and caste bars out the very classes, whose one hope and uplift lie in the church! Pity indeed if the cosmopolitan sheet let down from God to gather of every kind, counting none common or unclean whom God's grace cleanses, gives place to a human hammock, woven of dainty threads of gold and silver, delicately embroidered by worldly art, and fringed with fastidious culture, in which the socially elect may swing at ease, at a safe height above the level of the vulgar and the contaminating touch of the common folk!

Reformation must begin at the house of God, or reconstruction of society will at least be indefinitely delayed. To accomplish her social mission, the reforming power needs reform. Salt without saltness can neither savor nor save.

Facts must be faced and felt; and two facts are colossal and conspicuous: first, the church has largely lost living touch with the people; and secondly, what is worse, disciples have largely lost sympathetic touch with each other. The mission of the church is thus in peril, and the basis of co-operation is at risk.

The masses, so called, are alien and alienated from the church. In Great Britain, not over two or, at most, three per cent of the

working classes go to any place of worship. There as here, thousands live without benefit of church and die without "benefit of clergy," often the first visit of a minister being when a soul that has gone to its account has left a body behind for burial. In great centres of population, like Boston and Brooklyn, Buffalo and Chicago, there has been such decrease in proportion of churches to population that fifty years ago there was twice, if not thrice, the provision there is to-day. To candid and observing eyes it is awfully patent that, whatever progress society is making in civilization, like Cain it is moving away from the presence of the Lord. The civilization is, alas! godless and God-defying! There have been golden ages, such as those of Egypt under the Ptolemies, of Athens under Pericles, Rome under Augustus, Italy under Leo Tenth, Russia under Ivan Fourth, France under Louis Fourteenth, England under Elizabeth, Judea under Solomon; but they were all ages of moral profligacy. America may be in her golden age, but never was anarchy more defiant, or danger more imminent. Liberty itself is running to license.

Let us not be misled by a deceptive array of figures. It has been often boasted that evangelical communicants form now over twenty per cent of our population. Let us sift this statement. If "three fifths of the population" are under fifteen years, this would make one out of every two adults a member of an evangelical church. When church-rolls are purged; when the dread of apparent decline does not hinder reducing numbers to the actual, active membership, and proper oversight of the flock prevents counting the dead among the living, and stray sheep that have got into some other fold from being twice counted, "statistical tables" may be safer guides. But, as it is, they are blind leaders of the blind. If half of the adults in America are Protestant disciples, what shall we say of the sort of Christians the bulk of them represent?

Do we recognize and realize the awful meaning of the fact that the mass of the people are out of touch with the church, and that the gulf between the two is getting too broad for any bridge? Society is a pyramid; its breadth is at the base where the masses are. On the firmness and solidity of that bottom depends the stability of all above it. There can be but one capstone, but every stone at the base settles or unsettles that little pyramid at the apex. While the church fails to reach the multitude, the whole structure of society, and even of the church itself, is in danger. Disintegration and

decay develop whenever faith in God and faith in man are weakened. The present desperate conflict between capital and labor—more properly between employers and employed—is perhaps the most serious complication known to history. The genius of organization, of which our century boasts, is a Frankenstein, easier to create than control. It has mounted the throne and wields an iron sceptre that threatens to dash in pieces the whole structure of society. It lifts a finger and, in a day, trade and travel are locked over a vast continent: combination becomes conspiracy, and without hesitation uses the bomb or the torch, the pistol or the poison. We all tremble when organization thunders or even whispers. To-day the world waits to crown, as its greatest statesman, the man who shall teach society how to adjust the relations of workingmen and capitalists; and the church will canonize, as her greatest practical reformer, whosoever solves the double problem how to promote unity among disciples upon the essentials of truth so as to secure co-operation among them in the social mission of the church, and how to bring all the available forces of Christendom, shoulder to shoulder, in actual combined, sympathetic movement for social redemption! Where is the architectural mind capable of projecting such a plan?

Perhaps the worst feature in the case is that the alienation of the masses from the church is not without cause. We may solace ourselves that the laboring man knows not the church and misjudges its spirit. But what if he does know it too well? What if he sees selfishness and exclusiveness written large upon its very doors? In how many houses of worship would the poor outcast Samaritan find the reception he found at Jacob's well, or the smile that in the house of Simon the leper beamed upon that woman who was a sinner?

Our churches are mostly wedded to a system of pew rental or ownership which, however equitable on business principles, is difficult to justify on grounds of Christian courtesy or expediency; and undoubtedly makes a poor man feel that he is not wanted. No doubt there is a "pride of poverty" that keeps him out; is there not a pride of affluence that matches it and works the same way? No doubt every man should be willing to pay a fair equivalent for what he gets. But the meanness that would avoid costs is not confined to any class. We all like to buy things cheap, and that abominable "sweating system" that is to-day grinding the poor to

powder finds its mainstay in the unwillingness even of the rich to pay a fair price for what they buy. Should wealth complain of poverty that it will not pay for religious care and culture, while affluence is clothed with robes stitched by the hands of the starving? We invite the poor to our assemblies only to insult them with invidious distinctions when they come. While we write essays and make appeals in behalf of the "evangelization of the masses," we move our churches to aristocratic sites, hire for them costly preachers and singers, encumber them with heavy debts; then, if we approach the poor at all, we do it through a missionary, a "ragged school," a mission chapel, stretch out to them a hand whose kid glove is a "non-conductor," and make the impression that we regard all our approach to them as a condescension and a patronage! I know a man who makes thrilling addresses upon city evangelization, and who, after a sermon, sought by a poor man in deep distress, abruptly answered his soul-hunger for salvation by the reply that he "had no time to spend upon him"!

No indiscriminate, railing accusation is made against Christianity or Christians in this frank confession of the faults of the church, just as to criticise or condemn the attitude or action of our government is not an assault upon republicanism or patriots. As O'Connell used to say, "nothing is ever settled till it is settled right." If there are big breaches in our church walls, it will not do to daub them over with untempered mortar. No doctrine of social relations, no practice of social life, which is inconsistent with the golden rule can permanently stand; and it is but too plain that if our theory be not, our practice is, wrong.

The open life heralds the secret life; what we really are will, sooner or later, come out. As Charles Lamb quaintly hints, he who eats garlic in secret vainly persuades himself he will not smell of it openly. If greed governs a man of God, common folk will find it out. Every worker among the mases who has been marked as a winner of souls has shown a sublime indifference to money, and the people have been constrained to say of them as the pope's ambassador of Luther, "that German beast cares not for gold." He who seeks souls, not salary, who cares more for a fruitful field than a large fee; and whose passion for the truth and for men, prompts him to follow the negro's advice, and in choosing a work "go where there is most debbil"; the man or woman who dares hot fires to pluck a burning brand and change it to a budding

branch; who, in a word, loses life to save, will never, in the end, alienate the common people.

Carlyle said, "Show me the man you honor, and by that better than any other I know what kind of a man you are." A few verbal changes turn this saying into a valuable axiom for our purpose: Show me the disciple or church that honors the man, as such, and by that better than any other I know the sort of a Christian or church such are. There is a way of winning men to the church and to Christ. As Lord Lawrence said of British rule in India, "Christian things, done in a Christian way, will never alienate a heathen." To hold every human soul as of priceless value before God, worth more than new carpets and cushions,—to separate between character and clothes; to create in our churches an atmosphere where the "carpenter's Son" shall still find a warm welcome for his poorest fellow-tradesman, is the indispensable requisite to the discharge of our mission.

We must not be content with things as they are. We often boast of our large and wealthy churches, as though we forgot that our prosperity is our peril! Heights overlook depths—an apex implies altitude; but there is a risk even in success. The riches of the affluent may be the hopeless misery of poverty—the refinement of culture may mean the contempt of the ignorant. The Parian vase, white as snow and fair as art, may confront a Stygian pool of moral filth and social crime. Better a tallow dip that gives light than a golden chandelier without a flame; the humblest church in a log-hut, that is redeeming mankind, than the most palatial cathedral from whose foundations flows no river of God.

Modern notions of culture endanger not only our mission but our faith. Ethics and æsthetics, politics and athletics, cannot take the place of regeneration. And the fastidiousness of refined taste that is too easily shocked, and cannot stand the "poor smell," may make a disciple too nice for service. In botany, we find that cultivation carried to excess makes seedless blooms, the petals, pistils, stamens, and nectaries absorbing the vitality meant for the ovaries. And that is a false culture in society which imperils or impairs a holy fertility. That is not a true Christian plant whose seed is not in itself after its kind. In our Lord's great "Parable of the Sower," he quaintly hints that some seed fell among thorns, which sprang up and choked it—so that, though it took hold on the soil and had a growth, its growth was all stalk, tall and spindling—root

but no fruit—blade but no ear and full corn on the ear. How many disciples know nothing of holy fertility—who are not themselves seed of the kingdom? God cares most of all for character that is godly and has the secret of self-propagation! The refinement that makes us too nice and neat, too fastidious and punctilious to stoop to lift up the fallen, is deserving only of contempt: it is but the blooming of a selfishness that in God's eyes is deformity.

The practical separation among disciples hinders the fulfilment of the church's mission, by preventing co-operation. The tendency of intelligence is to independence and individualism; and so liberty to think and speak and act begets division, which unhappily has been carried to such extent in the church of Christ that we have to-day as many sects as there are days in the year. Christ said, "I am the vine, ye are the branches;" and it is true—principally branches. One would think that the more minute the ramification the more prosperous the growth!

Organic unity may not be needful, but organic sympathy is. The divisions which exist have brought dissension. As Father Cameron used to say, it would seem that the tenacity of denominationalism is in direct proportion to the insignificance of the denominational tenet or usage. There are some things which are beyond reasonable question right and true; others, as unquestionably wrong and false. These should constitute with all evangelical believers the essentials. Between these lies the doubtful territory, where there is likely always to be disagreement because there is no clear, conclusive revelation. After two thousand years of church history, believers do not yet see alike as to infant baptism and believer's baptism; immersion, affusion, or sprinkling; ordination by presbytery or bishop, or no ordination at all; apostolic succession or the succession of spiritual life and power; prelatical, presbyterial, or congregational church order, and a few kindred things. That disciples should divide, even to the point of practically unchurching each other, upon matters such as these, is a pity, perhaps, in God's sight, a crime. The Spirit was promised to guide us into all truth, certainly all essential and fundamental truth. The very fact that disciples equally devout and holy, equally scriptural and spiritual, equally evangelical and evangelistic, do not see alike in these respects is an argument, if not a proof, that these things cannot belong to the essentials. Of these we can only say, "let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind," and let

every other man have the same right and respect that right. To demand "you must be like us" betrays an immoral tone of mind. If error is to be shunned, bigotry is to be abhorred, and persecution, even in its mildest forms, is to be accounted as diabolical in spirit. We must learn to respect the right of private judgment, and concede that, in matters of honest doubt and difference, we ourselves may be wrong. Augustine's famous motto needs incarnation in our church life. "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity." In very few modern churches is there at once an avoidance of laxity and at the same time an indulgence of liberty and a cultivation of charity toward those who differ with us on non-essentials. To be fully persuaded ourselves and yet concede equal intelligence, honesty, and even right of conviction in others; to admit that our customs may be, as Cyprian said, only "*vetustas erroris*," the result of tradition; that it is possible we are ourselves wrong in some things of which we are most tenacious, and that there is room for a different interpretation of holy Scripture in minor matters, this is the absolute condition of a cordial co-operation between disciples.

This division among disciples begets weakness. The body of Christ, were there no schism, would be strong enough to lift up a lost world in its arms and lay it at the feet of Jesus; but as it is, there is such feebleness that the church is scarce equal to self-support. Instead of being able, in its divine strength, to act as a savior of men, too often it becomes a suppliant for worldly patronage; instead of sinners coming to the church for salvation from sin, behold the church coming to the ungodly for salvation from debt, asking help in financial straits, and conforming to the world for the sake of its patronage!

How, amid such conditions, can the church act as the special guardian of society's moral and religious life? Vain to preach reconciliation with God while powerless to effect reconciliation with man or even prevent alienation among disciples; presenting before the united hosts of evil the scandal of a mutually hostile Christendom, split into fragments without cohesion or co-operation! If the senator was right who allowed the decalogue and the golden rule no place in a political campaign, they must have place in our evangelistic campaign or we are defeated in advance of the battle. The church that has no power to save can be saved by no power. It is already dead, and a dead church has no hope of resurrection.

Again, we expressly disclaim any design of referring in reproachful terms to that church of God which is still the best hope of a lost world. Far as it is from the Scripture ideal, it is actually the best that remains to us; and that much life and power exists, even in these hindering conditions, is shown by the co-operation that actively survives. Those depreciate the actual achievements of the church who contrast "Christian work" and "church work," as though the church were not nursing-mother to all true forms of Christian service! What is done by certain Christian organizations said to be "outside the church" is magnified to the belittlement of the real worth of the church. Such representations are misrepresentations, unfair and untrue. Every form of benevolent activity and service whose impulse and inspiration are from the church are forms of church work. They may be outside of the local church or the particular denomination, but they are not outside the church at large; just as the achievements of an army, while to be claimed by no regiment or state, belong to the army. Whatever Christianity inspires is church work. Such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Society of Christian Endeavor are examples of co-operation; for they represent the whole church at work outside of local limits and sectarian lines. Some work for society demands an apparatus too costly to be commanded by the individual church; it would not be economical if otherwise practicable. Hence churches of all denominations wisely combine to do a common work for young men; but it is unjust to hold such work up in contrast to church work, as though outsiders had been constrained by its neglect of its young men to supply the lack. It is just such co-operation as this which is needful in the solution of the social problem we are discussing; and that it has already reached such results is proof of higher possibilities.

The social mission of the church cannot longer be neglected without disaster untold. There is an existing condition of things which cannnot be let alone, any more than a miasmatic cesspool! Our city population is so heterogeneous that the whole world is in one capital, the metropolis is a cosmopolis. These hordes of foreigners bring their own politics and religion, and are not assimilated; and, like undigested substances in the human body, become irritants and provocations of disease. Crowded tenements mean vitiated and vicious habits. Separation between classes begets settled repulsion and fixed social strata. In the throng there is isolation. The lack of

homes and healthy life; the rapid growth of cities and the social congestion; non-church-going, with its removal of the dikes that keep out the flood of vice—these are some of the conditions that turn the metropolis into a necropolis for body and soul. Meanwhile the plague of crime goes unchecked. Social vermin and bacteria multiply with incredible rapidity, until, in a century and a half, five generations, aggregating from seven hundred to twelve hundred individuals, have been traced to one ancestor—a brood of vipers—bastards and vagabonds, paupers and prostitutes; in all not twenty skilled workmen, and half of these taught their trade in prison. We need to beware. While we boast of our great empires and republics, our institutions and liberties stand on a crater. Half a century ago Daniel Webster, returning from a western tour, in four words recorded his warning: "Abundance, luxury, decline, desolation." Less than twenty years ago, another leading senator bore awful witness that in a recent competition between nations in the East, the "only art in which the United States excelled was corruption."

Here then, in brief, is our social problem: The masses alienated, or at least separated, from the church, and the social mission of the church practically neglected, and social deterioration and decay going on, and all fulfilment of this social mission hopeless, unless disciples can be brought into line and made to stand shoulder to shoulder like regiments of a common army.

What shall be done to bring about those conditions which make such co-operation and success possible?

Robert Peel said, "Agitate! Agitation is the marshalling of the conscience of a people to mould its laws." We must agitate. We must fearlessly and faithfully hammer away on the anvil of apathy. There is power in striking when the iron is hot—but iron is made hot by striking: if we can do no more, let us with the sound of the hammer compel attention. Anger is better than apathy; anything better than stagnation. Make men think, for thought is the spring of action.

We must begin by educating believers to a sense of the needs of the world and their individual duty. The social mission of the church has a threefold aspect: first, evangelization; second, organization; and third, co-operation—in other words, to make disciples, to gather them into churches, and then to unite the churches in great world-wide movements. Evangelization includes every method whereby the good news of salvation is extended until every creature

is reached Organization builds up a Christian society into strength and vigor. Co-operation exhibits essential unity and circumstantial diversity, convergence on essentials notwithstanding divergence in non-essentials; and practically combines all our forces to accomplish what, in separation, all churches in the aggregate would fail to effect. The middle section of this threefold work, organization, has been most emphasized, while the others have been neglected. To organize new churches may be the fruit of a mere sectarian zeal; but while evangelization, which is missionary and aggressive, and co-operation, which is its hand-maid, are lacking, organization lacks all true life and power. A church may have a name to live while practically dead, or may even be a synagogue of Satan. The social mission is begun in evangelization and carried to completion by co-operation. To proclaim the simple gospel to man as man is the great commission. To reach this world-wide destitution, to prevent overlapping, waste, and friction in the work, and build up society after a celestial pattern, there must be cordial, sympathetic, universal co-operation among disciples. To rescue from flood or fire, the whole body must move, or vainly will the heart yearn or the hands stretch out to help. The heroism of some members of Christ's body may be hindered and made ineffectual by the inactivity of the rest. Co-operation there must be, if this problem is solved. In a recent famine in China nine millions perished, with rice at hand, because no adequate provision was made for its distribution. Angelic eyes look down on a thousand millions in spiritual famine: destitution and desolation on the one hand, bread enough and to spare on the other; and, with such open doors of opportunity, the zeal which ought to expend itself on missions, absorbed in a symbolism that reminds of calf-worship, a sacramentarianism that recalls the worship of the brazen serpent Nehushtan, and a sacerdotalism that revives Gideon's ephod!

Let us thunder away on that truth—that the church is called out from the world for separation from it, and then sent back into the world for service in it. Its mission specific—salt, to savor and save, light to witness and illumine; to displace ignorance and idleness, those handmaids of vice, by intelligence and industry, those handmaids of virtue; but to do it by, first of all, giving men the gospel. The church is a mother, to travail in birth for souls, and every disciple to share the birthpangs. All who love Christ work together, as toward a common centre, rather than toward separate points

on a common circumference, obeying a centripetal law rather than a centrifugal drift.

In such a mission, love is the all-essential force. Self-indulgence must yield to self-sacrifice, love of self to loss of self. Moral atrophy may result from simple selfishness, the magic skin which, to the wearer, brings gratification of every wish or whim, shrinks with each indulgence, cramping and crushing the soul within it. Faith is the force and love is the fire of all evangelism. If our churches are to be temples of God, we must build into them, not the wood, hay, and stubble, as in the stupendous ruins of Egypt and Babylonia layers of straw were strangely mixed with courses of brick or stone, but a practical life consistent with the character of the divine foundation-stone—Christ Jesus.

Co-operation will never be, without operation, more unhindered of the Holy Spirit. The periods of church-life most active, aggressive, omnipotent, have been times when the Spirit of God most mightily moved within. The great bridge that spans the Forth was ready for the last stroke, but the huge hydraulic presses could not bring the two parts of the cantilever together. During the night the temperature sensibly rose, and in the morning the opposite ends almost touched. As Dr. John Cairns said, it was a grand illustration of a great spiritual truth: where man's mechanics fail, God's dynamics prevail. Heat was the force that was needful. When the spiritual temperature rises, God's people will be brought into touch with each other and the awful gap and gulf will be bridged!

For such sympathetic touch between disciples, triumphs over human sin and sorrow, now beyond our thought, wait. We must learn to touch our brethren with love, or how can we touch those who are afar off? We must show men that far mightier than bonds of race or speech, social neighborhood, or common pursuits is the bond of a common religious faith. Let us compel even apostates like Julian to say, "behold how these Christians love one another"; and we may hope to see those who have hated and devoured one another using heaven's dialect as a new mode of communication, and learning to say, however diverse their speech, "Abba," "Jesus," "Hallelujah!"

Paul tells us that Christ came to make hitherto alienated classes one new man in himself, and to reconcile all alike to God, in one body through the cross. The church is to follow her Master, and

bring to those afar off and near the news of this double peace with God and man. And, as he thought not his "equality with God something to be held fast to," as his right, but surrendered it, emptying himself that he might fill man, we are so to love man as man that our social equality with the highest is freely surrendered, emptying ourselves for the sake of the lowest!

There is no difficulty in solving this social problem when we are willing to become, at any cost, the practical factors for its solution. We must do more than be willing to have destitution reached and degradation remedied: we must ourselves reach and remedy it. Martyrs are still needed who, like Jerome of Prague, offer up their souls in flame to God, or, like Ignatius, are content to be ground betwen teeth of lions, to become bread for the perishing. All other conditions of success resolve themselves in the last analysis into this—that supreme and unalterable condition of service to God and man—that we be partakers of Christ's passion for souls. The body without the spirit is dead. All our best outward organization for service is but a mute and motionless machine without that motive power. God has taught us that force is what rules matter, and we have only to obey the law of the power and it becomes our servant. Thus man commands the light and it becomes his artist; heat and it becomes his refiner; gravity and it becomes his mechanic; electricity and it becomes his motor, messenger, illuminator. There is a higher power, the Spirit of God, and he waits—wonderful indeed such condescension!—to do our bidding. It is still true—obey the law of the Power and the Power is at your service. "Concerning the work of my hands, command ye me." If any work is the work of God's hands, it is this social redemption of man. To it we are, at our best, unequal. We must command God himself by compliance with the conditions in which alone he works. We must live the life of God if we would know the power of God. We must lay ourselves at his feet to be used and be ready to be used in his way. We must take hold by prayer upon the Omnipotence of Power, and by holy surrender on the higher Omnipotence of Love; and then we may hope to work as God works, because he will work in us and through us, to lift up the race to his bosom. Moses and Elijah were privileged to appear on the Mount of Transfiguration and hold sweet converse with the Master concerning his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem. We need not envy them their royal interview. A

grander height of his coronation is yet beyond, and on that sublime summit that overtops all others he will welcome to a share of his regal dignities those whose lives have been a discourse in action, speaking of his cross to men by bearing his cross before them, and for them, filling up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ, in their own flesh for his body's sake which is the church!

THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

By Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

"Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me."—John 17: 20, 21.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE PROBLEM.

"With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible."

This answer of our Savior to the question of his disciples "Who can be saved?" may well be applied to the question, "How shall the many sections of the Christian world be united?"

When St. Paul entered the Eternal City as an obscure prisoner, chained to a rude heathen soldier, no philosopher or historian could have foreseen the conversion of the Roman empire to the religion of Jesus of Nazareth; and yet in less than three hundred years the crowned successor of Nero appeared, as a worshipper of Christ, among the bishops of the Council of Nicæa, and the symbol of shame and defeat had become the symbol of glory and victory.

When Augustin, an humble monk, baptized the painted Anglo-Saxon savages of Kent, he did not dream that he was laying the foundation of Christian England with its missions encircling the globe.

Columbus died in the belief that he had discovered, not a continent, but merely a western passage to the East Indies; and Pope Alexander VI., in the exercise of his authority as the arbiter of Christendom, divided the New World between Catholic Spain and Portugal; but Providence intended to give the control of North America to the Anglo-Saxon race and to make it a home of religious freedom and progress.

"*Deus habet suas horas et moras.*" A thousand years are with God as one day, and he may accomplish in one day the work of a thousand years. Sooner or later, in his own good time, and in a manner far better than we can devise or hope, he will, by the power of his Spirit, unite all his children into one flock under one Shepherd.

THE EXISTING UNITY.

The reunion of Christendom presupposes an original union which has been marred and obstructed, but never entirely destroyed. The theocracy of the Jewish dispensation continued during the division of the kingdom and during the Babylonian exile. Even in the darkest time, when Elijah thought that Israel was wholly given to idolatry, there were seven thousand—known only to God—who had never bowed their knees to Baal. The church of Christ has been one from the beginning, and he has pledged to her his unbroken presence "all the days to the end of the world." The one invisible church is the soul which animates the divided visible churches. All true believers are members of the mystical body of Christ.

> "The saints in heaven and on earth
> But one communion make:
> All join in Christ, their living Head,
> And of his grace partake."

Let us briefly mention the prominent points of unity which underlie all divisions.

Christians differ in dogmas and theology, but agree in the fundamental articles of faith which are necessary to salvation: they believe in the same Father in heaven, the same Lord and Savior, and the same Holy Spirit, and can join in every clause of the Apostles' Creed, of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the *Te Deum*.

They are divided in church government and discipline, but all acknowledge and obey Christ as the Head of the church and chief Shepherd of our souls.

They differ widely in modes of worship, rites, and ceremonies, but they worship the same God manifested in Christ, they surround the same throne of grace, they offer from day to day the same petitions which the Lord has taught them, and can sing the same classical hymns, whether written by Catholic or Protestant,

Greek or Roman, Lutheran or Reformed, Calvinist or Methodist, Episcopalian or Presbyterian, Pædo-Baptist or Baptist. Some of the best hymn-writers—as Toplady and Charles Wesley—were antagonistic in theology; yet their hymns—"Rock of Ages," and "Jesus, Lover of my Soul,"—are sung with equal fervor by Calvinists and Methodists. Newman's "Lead, kindly Light" will remain a favorite hymn among Protestants, although the author left the Church of England and became a cardinal of the Church of Rome. "In the Cross of Christ I glory," and "Nearer, my God, to Thee," were written by devout Unitarians, yet have an honored place in every trinitarian hymnal.

There is a unity of Christian scholarship of all creeds, which aims at the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. This unity has been strikingly illustrated in the Anglo-American Revision of the Authorized Version of the Scriptures, in which about one hundred British and American scholars—Episcopalians, Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Friends, and Unitarians, harmoniously co-operated for fourteen years (from 1870 to 1884). It was my privilege to attend almost every meeting of the American Revisers in the Bible House at New York, and several meetings of the British Revisers in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey; and I can testify that, notwithstanding the positive convictions of the scholars of the different communions, no sectarian issue was ever raised; all being bent upon the sole purpose of giving the most faithful idiomatic rendering of the original Hebrew and Greek. The English Version, in its new as well as its old form, will continue to be the strongest bond of union among the different sections of English-speaking Christendom—a fact of incalculable importance for private devotion and public worship.

Formerly, exegetical and historical studies were too much controlled by, and made subservient to, apologetic and polemic ends; but now they are more and more carried on without prejudice, and with the sole object of ascertaining the meaning of the text and the facts of history upon which creeds must be built.

Finally, we must not overlook the ethical unity of Christendom, which is much stronger than its dogmatic unity and has never been seriously shaken. The Greek, the Latin, and the Protestant churches, alike, accept the Ten Commandments as ex-

plained by Christ, or the law of supreme love to God and love to our neighbor, as the sum and substance of the Law, and they look up to the teaching and example of our Savior as the purest and most perfect model for universal imitation.

THE DIVISIONS OF CHRISTENDOM.

The unity and harmony of the Christian church were threatened and disturbed from the beginning, partly by legitimate controversy, which is inseparable from progress, partly by ecclesiastical domination and intolerance, partly by the spirit of pride, selfishness, and narrowness which tends to create heresy and schism. Hence the frequent exhortations of the apostles to avoid strife and contention, and to "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

The church had hardly existed twenty years when it was brought to the brink of disruption by the question of circumcision as a condition of church membership and salvation, and would have been split into a Jewish church and a Gentile church had not the wisdom and charity of the apostles prevented such a calamity at the Council of Jerusalem. Not long afterward the same irritating question produced at Antioch a temporary alienation even between Paul and Peter.

The party spirit which characterized the philosophical schools of Greece manifested itself in the congregation at Corinth, and created four divisions, calling themselves respectively after Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and Christ (in a sectarian sense). Against this evil the apostle raised his indignant protest: "Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized into the name of Paul?" (I. Cor. 1 : 13.) If it is wrong to give a church the name of an inspired apostle, can it be right to call it after an uninspired teacher, though he be as great as Luther or Wesley?

1. Many schisms arose in the early ages before and after the Council of Nicæa. Almost every great controversy resulted in the excommunication of the defeated party, who organized a separate sect if they were not exterminated by the civil power. The Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, and Copts, who seceded from the Orthodox Greek Church, continue to this day as relics of dead controversies. The schism of the Donatists, who were once as numerous and as well organized in North Africa as the

Catholics, was extinguished not so much by the arguments of St. Augustin, the last great African, as by the barbarian invasion which overwhelmed both parties in a common ruin.

2. In the ninth century the great Catholic Church itself was split in two on the doctrinal question of the procession of the Holy Spirit and the ecclesiastical question of the primacy of the bishop of Rome. The Greek schism lasts to this day, and seems as far from being healed as ever. It is even intensified by the two modern dogmas of the Roman church—the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary and the infallibility of the pope. It is strange that the Greek and Latin churches, which agree most in doctrine, worship, and government, should be most antagonistic and irreconcilable in spirit and feeling, so as to defy every attempt at reunion. The pope of Rome and the czar at St. Petersburg are the greatest rivals in Christendom. The sultan still holds the key to the Holy Sepulchre, and Turkish soldiers keep watch to prevent Greek and Latin monks from fighting on the sacred spot in Passion Week.

In view of this greatest, and yet least justifiable, of all schisms, neither the Greek nor the Latin church should cast a stone upon the divisions of Protestantism. They all share in the sin and guilt of schism, and should also share in a common repentance.

3. In the sixteenth century the Latin or Western church was rent into two hostile camps, the Roman and the Protestant, in consequence of the evangelical reformation and the papal reaction.

Protestantism, again, appeared first in three main divisions: Lutheran, Reformed (Calvinistic), and Anglican. The former two divided the field with the Roman Catholic Church on the Continent, and acquired an equal legal status in Germany after the terrible ordeal of the Thirty Years' War by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), in spite of the protest of the pope. In France the Protestants were given legal toleration by the Edict of Nantes in 1598, which, however, was revoked in 1685. In Holland the Reformed Church triumphed in the great struggle for political and religious liberty against Spain. In England and Scotland the whole nation became Protestant. Southern Europe and the greater part of Ireland remained Roman Catholic.

4. In England a new era of division dates from the Tolera-

tion Act of 1688, which secured to the orthodox dissenters—Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers—a limited toleration, while the Episcopal Church remained the established or national religion in England, and the Reformed or Presbyterian Church remained the national religion in Scotland.

The principle of toleration gradually developed into that of religious freedom, and was extended to the Methodists, Unitarians, and Roman Catholics.

Under the reign of freedom there is no limitation to the multiplication of denominations and sects, and there ought to be none. We cannot have the use of freedom, which is the greatest gift of God, without the risk of its abuse by sinful and erring men.

We find, therefore, the largest number of denominations in England and America where religious freedom is most fully enjoyed; while on the continent of Europe, especially in Roman Catholic countries, freedom of public worship is denied or abridged, although of late it is making irresistible progress.

5. In the United States all the creeds and sects of Europe meet on a basis of liberty and equality before the law, and are multiplied by native ingenuity and enterprise.

We are informed by Dr. Carroll, the official editor of the religious statistics of the census of 1890, that there are no less than 143 religious denominations in the United States, besides a number of independent congregations.

This bare statement, it is true, would give a false impression, and must be corrected by the additional statement, on the same authority, that 119 of these denominations fall into 18 groups or families, leaving only 24 which are separate and distinct.

This would make 42 different denominations. Some of these are not Christian, or are very insignificant, and might as well be omitted. But even this reduced number is much too large, and a reproach to the Christian name. For these divisions promote jealousies, antagonisms, and interferences at home and on missionary fields abroad, at the expense of our common Christianity. The evil is beginning to be felt more and more.

The cure must begin where the disease has reached its crisis, and where the church is most free to act. For the reunion of Christendom, like religion itself, cannot be forced, but must be free and voluntary.

Christian union and Christian freedom are one and inseparable.

NOTE.—The United States census statistics of 1890 count 17 branches of Methodists, 13 branches of Baptists, 12 Lutheran, and 12 Presbyterian organizations, which are separate and independent, yet essentially agree. There are 12 kinds of Mennonites, 4 kinds of Dunkards, 2 kinds of Christians, 4 kinds of Plymouth Brethren, 6 kinds of Adventists, etc. It is remarkable that England, which still has a national church, should even have a larger number of sects than the United States, namely, 254, according to Whitaker's *Almanack* for 1892, p. 249. But the report of the registrar-general in 1877 numbered only 122.

DIVISION NOT AN UNMIXED EVIL.

Before we discuss reunion we should acknowledge the hand of Providence in the present divisions of Christendom.

There is a great difference between denominationalism and sectarianism: the first is as consistent with church unity as military corps are with the unity of an army, or the many monastic orders with the unity of the papacy; the second is nothing but extended selfishness and bigotry. Denominationalism is a blessing; sectarianism is a curse.

We must remember that denominations are most numerous in the most advanced and active nations of the world. A stagnant church is a sterile mother. Dead orthodoxy is as bad as heresy, or even worse. Sects are a sign of life and interest in religion. The most important periods of the church—the Nicene age and the age of the Reformation—were full of controversy. There are divisions in the church which cannot be justified, and there are sects which have fulfilled their mission and ought to cease. But the historic denominations are permanent forces and represent various aspects of the Christian religion which supplement each other.

As the life of our Savior could not be fully exhibited by one gospel, nor his doctrine fully set forth by one apostle, much less could any one Christian body comprehend and manifest the whole fulness of Christ and the entire extent of his mission to mankind.

Every one of the great divisions of the church has had, and still has, its peculiar mission as to territory, race and nationality, and modes of operation.

The Greek Church is especially adapted to the East, to the Greek and Slavonic peoples; the Roman, to the Latin races of Southern Europe and America; the Protestant, to the Teutonic races of the North and West.

Among the Protestant churches, again, some have a special gift for the cultivation of Christian science and literature; others for the practical development of the Christian life; some are most successful among the higher, others among the middle, and still others among the lower classes. None of them could be spared without great detriment to the cause of religion and morality, and without leaving its territory and constituency spiritually destitute. Even an imperfect church is better than no church.

No schism occurs without guilt on one or on both sides. "It must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." Yet God overrules the sins and follies of man for his own glory.

The separation of Paul and Barnabas, in consequence of their "sharp contention" concerning Mark, resulted in the enlargement of missionary labor. If Luther had not burned the pope's bull, or had recanted at Worms, we would not have a Lutheran Church, but be still under the spiritual tyranny of the papacy. If Luther had accepted Zwingli's hand of fellowship at Marburg, the Protestant cause would have been stronger at the time, but the full development of the characteristic features of the two principal churches of the Reformation would have been prevented or obstructed. If John Wesley had not ordained Coke, we should not have a Methodist Episcopal Church, which is the strongest denomination in the United States. If Chalmers and his friends had not seceded from the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in 1843, forsaking every comfort for the sake of the sole headship of Christ, we should miss one of the grandest chapters in modern church history.

All divisions of Christendom will, in the providence of God, be made subservient to a greater harmony. Where the sin of schism has abounded, the grace of future reunion will much more abound.

VARIETY ESSENTIAL TO UNITY.

Taking this view of the divisions of the church, we must reject the idea of a negative reunion, which would destroy all denominational distinctions and thus undo the work of the past.

History is not like "the baseless fabric of a vision" that leaves "not a rack behind." It is the unfolding of God's plan of infinite wisdom and mercy to mankind. He is the chief actor, and rules and overrules the thoughts and deeds of his servants. We are told that our heavenly Father has numbered the very hairs of our head, and that not a sparrow falleth to the ground without his will. The labors of confessors and martyrs, of missionaries and preachers, of fathers, schoolmen, and reformers, and of the countless host of holy men and women of all ranks and conditions who lived for the good of the world, cannot be lost. They constitute a treasure of inestimable value for all future time. The apostle encourages his brethren to be "steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord," because their "labor is not in vain in the Lord" (I. Cor. 15 : 58). Whatever is built upon the foundation of Jesus Christ shall stand.

Variety in unity and unity in variety is the law of God in nature, in history, and in his kingdom. Unity without variety is dead uniformity. There is beauty in variety. There is no harmony without many sounds, and a garden encloses all kinds of flowers. God has made no two nations, no two men or women, not even two trees or two flowers, alike. He has endowed every nation, every church, yea, every individual Christian, with peculiar gifts and graces. His power, his wisdom, and his goodness are reflected in ten thousand forms.

"There are diversities of gifts," says St. Paul, "but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but the same God, who worketh all things in all. But to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal" (I. Cor. 12 : 4–7).

We must, therefore, expect the greatest variety in the church of the future. There are good Christians who believe in the ultimate triumph of their own creed, or form of government and worship, but they are all mistaken and indulge in a vain dream. The world will never become wholly Greek, nor wholly Roman,

nor wholly Protestant, but it will become wholly Christian, and will include every type and every aspect, every virtue and every grace of Christianity—an endless variety in harmonious unity, Christ being all in all.

INCLUSIVENESS, NOT EXCLUSIVENESS.

Every denomination which holds to Christ the Head will retain its distinctive peculiarity, and lay it on the altar of reunion, but it will cheerfully recognize the excellencies and merits of the other branches of God's kingdom. No sect has the monopoly of truth. The part is not the whole; the body consists of many members, and all are necessary to each other.

Episcopalians will prefer their form of government as the best, but must concede the validity of the non-episcopal ministry.

Baptists, while holding fast to the primitive mode of immersion, must allow pouring or affusion to be legitimate baptism.

Protestants will cease to regard the pope as the antichrist predicted by St. Paul and St. John, and will acknowledge him as the legitimate head of the Roman Church; while the pope ought to recognize the respective rights and privileges of the Greek patriarchs, and evangelical bishops and pastors.

Those who prefer to worship God in the forms of a stated liturgy ought not to deny others the equal right of free prayer, as the Spirit moves them. Even the silent worship of the Quakers had Scripture authority; for there was "a silence in heaven for the space of half an hour" (Rev. 8 : 1).

Doctrinal differences will be the most difficult to adjust. When two dogmas flatly contradict each other, the one denying what the other asserts, one or the other, or both, must be wrong. Truth excludes error and admits of no compromise.

But truth is many-sided and all-sided, and is reflected in different colors. The creeds of Christendom, as already remarked, agree in the essential articles of faith, and their differences refer either to minor points, or represent only various aspects of truth, and supplement one another.

Calvinists and Arminians are both right, the former in maintaining the sovereignty of God, the latter in maintaining the freedom and moral responsibility of man; but they are both

wrong when they deny one or the other of these two truths, which are equally important, although we may not be able to reconcile them satisfactorily. The conflicting theories on the Lord's Supper which have caused the bitterest controversies among mediæval schoolmen and Protestant reformers turn, after all, only on the *mode* of Christ's presence; while all admit the essential *fact* that he is spiritually and really present, and partaken of by believers, as the bread of life from heaven. Even the two chief differences between Romanists and Protestants concerning Scripture and tradition, as rules of faith, and concerning faith and good works, as conditions of justification, admit of an adjustment by a better understanding of the nature and relationship of Scripture and tradition, of faith and works. The difference is no greater than that between St. Paul and St. James in their teaching on justification; and yet the Epistles of both stand side by side in the same canon of Holy Scripture.

We must remember that the dogmas of the church are earthly vessels for heavenly treasures, or imperfect human definitions of divine truths, and may be improved by better statements with the advance of knowledge. Our theological systems are but dim rays of the sun of truth which illuminates the universe. Truth first, doctrine next, dogma last.

> "Our little systems have their day;
> They have their day and cease to be;
> They are but broken lights of thee,
> And thou, O Lord, art more than they."

Every denomination should prepare a short popular and irenic creed of the essential articles which it holds in common with all others; and leave the larger confessions of faith to theologians, whose business it is to investigate the mysteries and solve the problems of faith.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF CHRISTIAN UNION.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century ended in division; the Reformation of the twentieth century will end in reunion. The age of sectarianism is passing away, the age of catholicity is coming on. The progress has begun in earnest. Though many experiments may fail, the cause of union is steadily gaining.

There are three kinds of union: individual, federal, and organic.

1. Individual union is a voluntary association of Christians of different churches and nationalities for a common purpose.

2. Federal or confederate union is a voluntary association of different churches in their official capacity, each retaining its freedom and independence in the management of its internal affairs, but all recognizing one another as sisters with equal rights, and co-operating in general enterprises, such as the spread of the gospel at home and abroad, the defence of the faith against infidelity, the elevation of the poor and neglected classes of society, works of philanthropy and charity, and moral reform.

Such an ecclesiastical confederation would resemble the political confederations of Switzerland, the United States, and the modern German empire. The beauty and strength of these confederate governments lie in the union of the general sovereignty with the intrinsic independence of the several cantons, or states, or kingdoms and duchies.

3. Organic or corporate union of all the churches under one government. The Roman Catholic Church claims to be the one and the only church of Christ, governed by his vicar in the Vatican; and undoubtedly she presents the most imposing organization the world has ever seen. The Roman Church goes back in unbroken line to the days of the apostles; she extends over five continents, and is controlled by an aged unmarried priest, whose encyclicals command the attention of every reader in Christendom. Proud of her past, she confidently hopes to absorb at no distant time the Greek schism and all the Protestant sects.

But this is an impossibility. The history of the Greek Church and of the Protestant churches can be undone, as little as that of the Roman Church. The last three or four hundred years have done as much, or more, for Christianity and civilization than the Catholic middle ages. Christ needs no vicar; he is the ever-living Head of his church, present everywhere and at all times. He promised us one *flock* under one shepherd, but not one *fold*. The famous passage, John 10: 16, has been mistranslated by the Latin Vulgate, and the error has passed into King James's Version. Christ's flock is one, but there are many folds, and there will be "many mansions in heaven."

We must look, therefore, to a much broader union than that of the papacy, a union which will include the Greek, the Roman Catholic, and the Protestant churches under the sole headship of Christ.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL CHRISTIANS.

Protestant Christians of different denominations have associated for common objects in voluntary societies, such as Bible Societies, Tract Societies, Sunday-school Unions, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Evangelical Alliances, and Christian Endeavor Societies. These societies are all of comparatively recent growth, and are doing great service to the cause of Christian union. We mention the two largest and most influential.

1. *The Evangelical Alliance* was founded in London in 1846 by representative men of Europe and America, for the promotion of Christian union and the defence of Christian liberty. It has manifested, on a large scale, the great fact that Christians of different creeds, nationalities, and tongues are one in Christ.

The Alliance has national branches in different countries, but holds from time to time general conferences for the promotion of its objects. These conferences have proved a signal blessing to the countries in which they were held. The first General Conference met in London, 1851, the second in Paris, 1855, the third in Berlin, 1857, the fourth in Geneva, 1861, the fifth in Amsterdam, 1867, the sixth in New York, 1873 (the largest and most enthusiastic of all), the seventh in Basel, 1879, the eighth in Copenhagen, 1884, the ninth in Florence, 1891.

It is probable that in 1896 all branches of the Alliance will meet in London to celebrate the first semi-centennial of the society, and make a new start on an enlarged scale as a Pan-Christian Alliance.

The Alliance has also done great service in the defence and promotion of religions liberty. It has first proclaimed the principle that Christian union and religious liberty are inseparably connected.

2. *The Christian Endeavor Societies* are scarcely more than a dozen years old, and have spread with wonderful rapidity from New England over Protestant Christendom. They carry the

spirit of union and co-operation into local churches, and unite young men and women for greater efficiency in prayer and active Christian work.

These societies have likewise assumed an interdenominational and international character. The last general meetings, held in New York, July, 1892, and in Montreal, July, 1893, have surprised the world by the extraordinary enthusiasm and vitality of our rising Christian youth, and are among the most hopeful signs of the times. Even the Roman Catholic mayor of Montreal heartily welcomed the convention as "an ally in the battle of belief against unbelief."

The sense of the superiority of the common creed of Christendom over sectarian creeds is strengthened by the best preaching of the day, and by religious periodicals which are undenominational yet thoroughly evangelical, and surpass in circulation and influence many sectarian organs.

CONFEDERATE UNION.

We now pass beyond the union of individuals to the union of churches. The first step in this direction is the confederation of the several branches of those denominations which profess the same creed (as the Augsburg Confession, or the Heidelberg Catechism, or the Westminster Confession), but differ as to interpretation, or in the rigidity of subscription, or in a number of minor differences of government and discipline, or in methods of church work.

Family feuds are often the most bitter and painful; hence it is more difficult to heal the divisions of different branches of the Lutheran, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and other church families than to unite distinct and separate denominations. Nevertheless several such attempts have been actually made, with more or less success.

1. *The Alliance of the Reformed Churches*, usually called the "Pan-Presbyterian Alliance," was organized in the English Presbyterian College at London, July, 1875, by representative divines and laymen of Europe and America, most of whom had taken a leading part in the Evangelical Alliance. It embraces the churches which hold to the consensus of the Reformed confessions of faith and the Presbyterian system of government. Its

object is to bring them into closer communion and co-operation in mission fields, and for the support of the weaker branches, as the Waldensians and the Reformed Bohemians. The Alliance does not claim any legislative authority. The doctrinal consensus has not been defined, but it is generally understood to embrace only the fundamental articles of the evangelical faith, which the German Reformed and the semi-Arminian Cumberland Presbyterians hold in common with the high Calvinists.

The Alliance holds from time to time general councils in different capitals. The first of these councils met at Edinburgh in 1877, the second at Philadelphia in 1880, the third at Belfast in 1884, the fourth at London in 1888, the fifth at Toronto, Canada, in 1892. The sixth will meet at Glasgow in 1896. It is to be hoped that Geneva, the common mother of the Reformed churches, will not be overlooked in selecting a place for future meetings. It may also be expected that the churches represented in this Alliance will ultimately agree upon a brief popular and irenic consensus creed, which is suggested in the constitution and was discussed at Edinburgh, 1877, and in subsequent councils.

2. *The Pan-Methodist Conference.*—The various branches of the aggressive and progressive Methodist family have followed the example of the Presbyterians and held an enthusiastic international conference in London, 1881, and a second one at Washington, the capital of the United States, in 1892, where delegates from the Pan-Presbyterian Council of Toronto were kindly received as Christian brethren notwithstanding the doctrinal differences.

3. *The Congregationalists* of England and America held an international congress at London in 1891, and discussed all the religious questions of the day with great ability.

4. *The Anglican Council* consists of all the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal churches of Great Britain, the British colonies, and the United States. It has so far held three meetings at Lambeth Palace, London, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the first in 1867, the second in 1878, the third in 1888.

The third council was by far the most important. It was attended by one hundred and forty-five bishops of Great Britain and America, and adopted, with slight modifications, a programme for the reunion of Christendom which had been previously pro-

posed by the House of Bishops in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States at Chicago in 1886.

THE FOUR ANGLICAN ARTICLES OF REUNION.

This Anglican programme consists of four articles as "a basis on which approach may be by God's blessing made toward home reunion." The articles are as follows:

"I. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

"II. The Apostles' Creed, as the baptismal symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

"III. The two sacraments ordained by Christ himself—baptism and the supper of the Lord—ministered with the unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by him.

"IV. The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his church.

"This conference earnestly requests the constituted authorities of the various branches of our communion, acting, as far as may be, in concert with one another, to make it known that they hold themselves in readiness to enter into brotherly conference (such as that which has already been proposed by the church in the United States of America) with the representatives of other Christian communions in the English-speaking races in order to consider what steps can be taken, either toward corporate reunion, or toward such relations as may prepare the way for fuller organic unity hereafter."*

This overture looks toward a confederation of all English-speaking evangelical churches, and possibly even to an organic union. As it comes from the largest, most conservative, and most churchly of all the Protestant communions, it is entitled to the highest respect and to serious consideration. It commends itself by a remarkable degree of liberality. It says nothing of the Thirty-nine Articles nor of the Book of Common Prayer, and leaves the confederate churches free to keep their own confessions of faith and modes of worship. What a difference between this liberality

* See *The Lambeth Conferences* of 1867, 1878, and 1888; edited by Randall T. Davidson, London, 1889, pp. 280, 281.

and the narrow policy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which by legislative acts of conformity would force one creed, one discipline, and one liturgy upon England, Scotland, and Ireland! Instead of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Lambeth Articles, and the Irish Articles, which embody a whole system of divinity, we have but four. The first and the third articles are already agreed upon by all Protestants. The same may be said of the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed, except that the latter would exclude Unitarian Christians, and that the Western addition of "*Filioque*" would never be accepted by the Oriental Church.

The only serious difficulty is the "historic episcopate." This is the stumbling-block to all non-Episcopalians, and will never be conceded by them as a condition of church unity, if it is understood to mean the necessity of three orders of the ministry and of episcopal ordination in unbroken historic succession. Christ says nothing about bishops any more than about patriarchs and popes, and does not prescribe any particular form of church government. All scholars, including the most learned of the ancient Fathers—as St. Jerome or St. Chrysostom—and of the modern Episcopalians—as Bishop Lightfoot—admit the original identity of bishops and presbyters, as is evident from the New Testament and the post-apostolic writings before the Ignatian Epistles.*

And as to an unbroken episcopal succession, it is of little avail without the more important succession of the Spirit and life of Christ, our ever-present Lord and Savior, who is as near to his people in the nineteenth century as he was in the first. Even where two or three are gathered together in his name, he is in the midst of them. *Ubi Christus, ibi Ecclesia.*

* The Preface to the Ordinal of the Episcopal Church is not sustained by the facts of history when it affirms that "it is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that *from the apostles' time* there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's church: bishops, priests, and deacons." The Preface is ascribed to Cranmer (1549), but it was altered in 1662. The earliest testimony to the three orders is that of Ignatius of Antioch (after A.D. 107); but he represents the bishop, surrounded by a college of elders and deacons, as the head of a single congregation, not of a diocese. This is congregational episcopacy. Diocesan episcopacy appears toward the end of the second century in the writings of Irenæus and Tertullian.

The Church of England recognized in various ways, directly or indirectly, the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and held communion with Lutheran and Calvinistic churches on the Continent from the Reformation down to the Restoration in 1662, when the Ordinal was introduced in its present form.

Archbishop Cranmer, the greatest Anglican liturgist, called Martin Bucer, a mediator between the Lutheran and the Swiss Reformers, from Strassburg to the chair of systematic theology in Cambridge, and Peter Martyr, a strict Calvinist, in the same capacity, to the University of Oxford, and consulted them freely in the preparation of the Articles of Religion and the Book of Common Prayer. The Elizabethan bishops, who during their exile under Queen Mary had sought refuge in Zürich, Basel, and Geneva, wrote letters overflowing with gratitude for the hospitality and kindness received from the Swiss reformers and preachers, and addressed them as spiritual fathers and brethren. Bullinger's *Decades* and Calvin's *Institutes* were the highest authorities in the universities of England, and the influence of Beza's editions of the Greek Testament, his text and notes, is manifest in the Authorized Version of King James. The "judicious" Hooker, the standard writer on church polity, expressed profound veneration for Calvin as "the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy" (Preface to his *Ecclesiastical Polity*); and he expressly admitted an "extraordinary kind of vocation where the church must needs have some ordained and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the ordinary institution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give, place. And therefore we are not simply without exception to urge a lineal descent of power from the apostles by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination" (*Ecclesiastical Polity*, book vii., 14). Even James I., who hated the Presbyterians, sent five delegates, including three bishops (George Carleton, John Davenant, and Joseph Hall), to the Calvinistic Synod of Dort, who raised no question about the necessity of the episcopate for the being or the well-being of the church.

Let us learn something from history. All respect for the historic episcopate! It goes back in unbroken line almost to the beginning of the second century, and no one can dispute its historical necessity or measure its usefulness. But God has also signally blessed the Lutheran, the Presbyterian, and the Con-

gregational ministry for many generations, with every prospect of growing usefulness for the future; and what God has blessed no man should lightly esteem. The non-Episcopal churches will never unchurch themselves and cast reproach on their ministry. They will only negotiate with the Episcopal Church on the basis of equality and a recognition of the validity of their ministry. Each denomination must offer its idol on the altar of reunion.

But it is to be hoped that the Episcopal Church will give the historic episcopate, as "locally adapted," such a liberal construction as to include "the historic presbyterate," which dates from the apostolic age and was never interrupted, or will drop it altogether, as a term of reunion. At the Reunion Conference at Grindelwald in 1892, which is to be repeated at Lucerne in 1893, Episcopal dignitaries conferred with Dissenting ministers as Christian brethren.

In any case, we hail the Episcopal proposal as an important step in the right direction, and as a hopeful sign of the future. It is in the line of a noble project of Archbishop Cranmer, who was deeply grieved at the distractions of the church, and invited Melanchthon, Bullinger, and Calvin to a conference in Lambeth Palace for the purpose of drawing up a consensus creed of the Reformed churches. Calvin replied that for such a holy purpose he would cross not only the English Channel, but ten seas.

ORGANIC UNION.

1. An organic union between the *Lutheran* and the *German Reformed churches*, into which German Protestantism has been divided since the sixteenth century, was effected in 1817 in connection with the third centennial of the Reformation, under the lead of Frederick William III., King of Prussia and father of the first emperor of united Germany. He was German Reformed, like his ancestors from the time of John Sigismund of Brandenburg (1614), but a majority of his subjects were Lutherans. Hence the traditional tendency of the House of Hohenzollern towards union. The name of *The United Evangelical Church* was substituted for the two separate denominational names, but freedom was allowed to retain the Lutheran or Reformed creed, and to use the Augsburg Confession or the Heidelberg Catechism, according to custom or preference. The Prussian Union, there-

fore, is not an absorptive, but a conservative, union of two confessions under the same government and administration.

Several other German states, as Baden and Würtemberg, have followed the example of Prussia to their advantage; while those states which were exclusively Lutheran, as Saxony and the Saxon duchies, adhere to their Lutheran name and tradition.

The Evangelical Union has been accompanied and strengthened, since the days of Schleiermacher and Neander, by a corresponding type of theology, which combines Lutheran and Calvinistic elements. This theology, divided into different schools, prevails in all the Prussian universities, as also in Heidelberg and Tübingen, and is the most progressive theology of the age.

2. In our country, the recent history of the *Presbyterian* Church furnishes an example of organic union. The *Old School* and the *New School*, which were divided in 1837 on doctrinal questions, were reunited by a free and simultaneous impulse in the year 1869 on the basis of orthodoxy and liberty, and have prospered all the more since their reunion, although the differences between conservative and progressive tendencies still remain, and have, within the last few years, come into collision on the questions of a revision of the Westminster standards, and the historical criticism of the Bible.

3. The four divisions of *Presbyterians* in *Canada* have forgotten their old family quarrels, and have been united in one organization since 1875.

4. The *Methodists* in *Canada*, who, till 1874, were divided into five independent bodies, have recently united in one organization.

UNION WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

If all the Protestant Churches were united by federal or organic union, the greater, the most difficult, and the most important part of the work would still remain to be accomplished; for Christian union must include the Greek and the Roman Churches. They are the oldest, the largest, and claim to be the most orthodox; the former numbering about 84,000,000 members, the latter 215,000,000, while all the Protestant denominations together number only 130,000,000.

If any one church is to be the centre of unification, that

honor must be conceded to the Greek or the Roman communion. The Protestant denominations are all descended, directly or indirectly, from the Latin Church of the Middle Ages; while the Greek and Latin churches trace their origin back to the apostolic age, the Greek to the congregation of Jerusalem, the Latin to the congregation of Rome.

THE GREEK AND ROMAN CHURCHES.

First of all, the two great divisions of Catholicism should come to an agreement among themselves on the disputed questions about the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, and the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

On both points the Greek Church is supported by the testimony of antiquity, and could not yield without stultifying her whole history. The original Nicene Creed does not teach a double procession, which is a later addition, made in Spain and Gaul, and first disapproved by Pope Leo III., but accepted by his successors; and the Œcumenical Councils, all of which were held in the East and called by the Greek emperors, concede to the Bishop of Old Rome only a primacy of honor among five patriarchs of equal rights and independent jurisdiction.

The first difficulty could easily be solved by omitting the *Filioque* from the Nicene Creed, or by substituting "*sent by* the Father and the Son," for "*proceeds from* the Father and the Son." For the Greek Church never denied the double *mission* of the Spirit which began with the day of Pentecost, while the *procession* is an eternal intertrinitarian process, like the eternal generation of the Son from the Father.

The second difficulty is far greater.

Will Rome ever make concessions to the truth of history? We hope that she will.

THE OLD CATHOLIC UNION CONFERENCES.

Under the auspices of the Old Catholic Church, and under the lead of Dr. Döllinger of Munich, who, before he was excommunicated on account of his protest against the Vatican dogma of papal infallibility, was esteemed in the Roman Church as her most learned historian and divine, two conferences were held at

Bonn, in 1874 and 1875, with a view to prepare for a confederation and intercommunion of the Old Catholic, the Orthodox Greek and Russian, and the Anglican Churches, on the basis of the œcumenical consensus of the ancient church before the division, and of the episcopal succession.

The conferences were attended by some of the ablest and most learned dignitaries of these three communions, and agreed upon a doctrinal basis of fourteen articles, and the settlement of the *Filioque* controversy by a compromise which substitutes the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father *through* the Son for the Latin doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father *and* the Son.

These important conclusions of the Bonn conferences have not been officially ratified by any of the Eastern or Anglican churches, but may be revived and acted upon at some future time.

There is a party among the Anglo-Catholics which is more anxious for union with the Old Catholic and the Græco-Russian church than with any Protestant denomination nearer home, although the Greek and Russian delegates at Bonn expressed doubts as to the validity of Anglican orders.

The conferences with the Old Catholics were resumed in Switzerland in 1892.

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

The difficulty of union with the Roman Church is apparently increased by the modern dogma of papal absolutism and papal infallibility, declared by the Vatican Council in 1870. This dogma is the logical completion of the papal monarchy, the apex of the pyramid of the hierarchy. But it can refer only to the Roman Church. The official decisions of the pope, as the legitimate head of the Roman Church, are final and binding upon all Roman Catholics, but they have no force whatever for any other Christians.

The antichristian feature of the papacy to which the Reformers objected begins where the pope claims jurisdiction over all Christendom. It is no less than a pope, and one of the very best of them, Gregory I., who protested in official (and therefore infallible) letters against the assumption by the Greek patriarchs

of the title of "œcumenical" or "universal bishop," which, he says, belongs to Christ alone. He branded such an assumption as "antichristian," and preferred to call himself "the servant of the servants of God."

What if the pope, in the spirit of the first Gregory and under the inspiration of a higher authority, should infallibly declare his own fallibility in all matters lying outside of his own communion, and invite Greeks and Protestants to a fraternal pan-Christian council in Jerusalem, where the mother-church of Christendom held the first council of reconciliation and peace?

But whether in Jerusalem or Rome, or (as Cardinal Wiseman thought) in Berlin, or (as some Americans think) on the banks of the Mississippi, the war between Rome and Constantinople, and between Rome, Wittenberg, Geneva, and Oxford, will be fought out to a peaceful end when all the churches shall be thoroughly Christianized and all the creeds of Christendom unified in the creed of Christ.

RE-STATEMENT OF CONFESSIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE INTEREST OF TRUTH AND PEACE.

The reunion of the entire Catholic Church, Greek and Roman, with the Protestant churches, will require such a re-statement of all the controverted points by both parties as shall remove misrepresentations, neutralize the anathemas pronounced upon imaginary heresies, and show the way to harmony in a broader, higher, and deeper consciousness of God's truth and God's love.

In the heat of controversy, and in the struggle for supremacy, the contending parties mutually misrepresented each other's views, put them in the most unfavorable light, and perverted partial truths into unmixed errors. Like hostile armies engaged in battle, they aimed at the destruction of the enemy. Protestants in their confessions of faith and polemical works denounced the pope as "the antichrist," the papists as "idolaters," the Roman mass as an "accursed idolatry," and the Roman Church as "the synagogue of Satan" and "the Babylonian harlot,"—all in perfect honesty, on the ground of certain misunderstood passages of St. Paul and St. John, and especially of the mysterious Book of the Revelation, whose references to the persecutions of

pagan Rome were directly or indirectly applied to papal Rome. Rome answered by bloody persecutions; the Council of Trent closed with a double anathema on all Protestant heretics, and the pope annually repeats the curse in the holy week, when all Christians should humbly and penitently meet around the cross on which the Savior died for the sins of the whole world.

When these hostile armies, after a long struggle for supremacy without success, shall come together for the settlement of terms of peace, they will be animated by a spirit of conciliation and single devotion to the honor of the great Head of the church, who is the divine concord of all human discords.

PETER AND PAUL.

There is truth and comfort in the idea that the apostolic age anticipated the war and peace of subsequent ages.

The apostles who thus far have most influenced the course of church history are Peter and Paul. The apostle whose spirit will preside over the final consummation is John, the bosom-friend of Jesus, the apostle of love.

Peter, the apostle of authority, represents Jewish and Roman Christianity; while Paul, the apostle of freedom, who was called last, and called irregularly, yet none the less divinely, is a type of Gentile and Protestant Christianity. Peter was called "Rock," but also "Satan," by his master. He first confessed Christ; he even hastily drew the sword in his defence; and then denied him three times. But Christ prayed for him that his faith "fail not," and prophesied that he would "turn again and strengthen his brethren" (Luke 22 : 32). All popes have confessed Christ, and many have drawn the sword, or caused temporal princes to draw it, against heretics; some have denied Christ by their wicked lives: will not some future pope "turn again and strengthen his brethren"?

The same Peter boldly defended the liberty of the Gentile converts at the Council of Jerusalem and protested against the intolerable yoke of bondage; yet afterward, in consistent inconsistency, he practically disowned that liberty at Antioch, and withdrew from fellowship with the Gentile brethren (Gal. 2 : 11 sqq.). Has not the pope again and again unchurched all Prot-

estant churches, and denied that liberty wherewith Christ has made us free?

Peter accepted the severe rebuke of the younger apostle of the Gentiles, and both died martyrs in Rome, to live forever united in the grateful memory of the church. If the pope should acknowledge the sins of the papacy and extend the hand of brotherhood to his fellow-Christians of other churches, he would only follow the example of him whom he regards as his first predecessor in office.

ORTHODOXY AND PROGRESS.

The whole system of traditional orthodoxy, Greek, Latin, and Protestant, must progress, or it will be left behind the age and lose its hold on thinking men. The church must keep pace with civilization, adjust herself to the modern conditions of religious and political freedom, and accept the established results of biblical and historical criticism and natural science. God speaks in history and science as well as in the Bible and the church, and he cannot contradict himself. Truth is sovereign, and must and will prevail over all ignorance, error, and prejudice.

EXEGETICAL PROGRESS.

The history of the Bible is to a large extent a history of abuse as well as use, of imposition as well as exposition. No book has been more perverted.

The mechanical inspiration theory of the seventeenth century, which confounded inspiration with dictation and reduced the biblical authors to mere clerks, has been superseded by a spiritual and dynamic theory, which alone can account for the obvious peculiarities of thought and style, and which consists with the dignity of God and the freedom of man.

Textual criticism has, after two or three centuries of patient comparison of manuscripts, versions, and patristic quotations as they gradually came to light, purified the traditional text of the Greek Testament, correcting many passages and omitting later interpolations. The criticism of the Hebrew Bible text and the Septuagint has begun the same fundamental process.

Historical criticism is putting the literature of both Testaments in a new light, and makes it more real and intelligible by explaining its environments and organic growth until the completion of the canon.

The wild allegorical exegesis, which turns the Bible into a nose of wax and makes it to teach anything that is pious or orthodox, has been gradually superseded by an honest grammatical and historical exegesis, which takes out the real meaning of the writer instead of putting in the fancies of the reader.

Many proof-texts of Protestants against popery, and of Romanists against Protestantism, and of both for orthodoxy or against heresy, can no longer be used for partisan purposes.

HISTORICAL PROGRESS.

Church history has undergone of late a great change, partly in consequence of the discovery of lost documents and deeper research, partly on account of the standpoint of the historian and the new spirit in which history is written.

1. Many documents on which theories and usages were built have been abandoned as untenable even by Roman Catholic scholars. We mention the legend of the literal composition of the Apostles' Creed by the apostles, and of the origin of the creed which was attributed to Athanasius, though it did not appear till four centuries after his death; the fiction of Constantine's Donation; the apocryphal letters of pseudo-Ignatius, of pseudo-Clement, of pseudo-Isidorus, and other post-apostolic and mediæval falsifications of history, which were universally believed till the time of the Reformation, and even down to the eighteenth century.

2. Genuine history is being rewritten from the standpoint of impartial truth and justice. If facts are found to contravene a cherished theory, all the worse for the theory; for facts are truths, and truth is of God, while theories are of men.

Formerly church history was made a mere appendix to systematic theology, or abused and perverted for polemic purposes.

The older historians, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, searched ancient and mediæval history for weapons to defeat their opponents and to establish their own exclusive claims. Flacius, the first learned Protestant historian, saw nothing but

antichristian darkness in the Middle Ages, with the exception of a few scattered "*Testes Veritatis*," and described the Roman Church from the fifth to the sixteenth century as the great apostasy of prophecy. But modern Protestant historians, following the example of Neander, who is called "The Father of Church History," regard the Middle Ages as the period of the conversion and the civilization of the barbarians, as a necessary link between ancient and modern Christianity, and as the cradle of the Reformation.

On the other hand, the opposite type of historiography, represented by Cardinal Baronius, traced the papacy to the beginning of the Christian era, maintained its identity through all ages, and denounced the reformers as arch-heretics and the Reformation as the foul source of revolution, war, and infidelity, and of all the evils of modern society. But the impartial scholars of the Roman Catholic Church now admit the necessity of the Reformation, the pure and unselfish motives of the reformers, and the beneficial effects of their labors upon their own church. We may refer to the remarkable judgments of Döllinger on Luther and of Kampschulte on Calvin, based upon a thorough knowledge of their writings.

A great change of spirit has also taken place among the historians of the different Protestant denominations. The early Lutheran abhorrence of Zwinglianism and Calvinism has disappeared from the best Lutheran manuals of church history. The bitterness between Prelatists and Puritans, Calvinists and Arminians, Baptists and Pædobaptists, has given way to a calm and just appreciation.

The impartial historian can find no ideal church in any age. It was a hight-priest in Aaron's line that crucified the Savior; a Judas was among the apostles; all sorts of sins among church-members are rebuked in the Epistles of the New Testament; there were "many antichrists" in the age of St. John, and there have been many since, even in the temple of God. Nearly all churches have acted as persecutors when they had the chance, if not by fire and sword, at least by misrepresentation, vituperation, and abuse. For these and all other sins, they should repent in dust and ashes. One only is pure and spotless—the great Head of the church, who redeemed it with his precious blood.

But the historian finds, on the other hand, in every age and in every church, the footprints of Christ, the abundant manifestations of his spirit, and a slow but sure progress toward that ideal church which St. Paul describes as "the fulness of him who filleth all in all."

The study of church history, like travel in foreign lands, destroys prejudice, enlarges the horizon, liberalizes the mind, and deepens charity. Palestine by its eloquent ruins serves as a commentary on the life of Christ, and has not inaptly been called "the fifth Gospel." So also the history of the church furnishes the key to unlock the meaning of the church in all its ages and branches.

The study of history—"with malice toward none, but with charity for all"—will bring the denominations closer together in an humble recognition of their defects and a grateful praise for the good which the same spirit has wrought in them and through them.

CHANGES OF OPINIONS.

Important changes have also taken place in traditional opinions and practices once deemed pious and orthodox.

The church in the Middle Ages first condemned the philosophy of Aristotle, but at last turned it into a powerful ally in the defence of her doctrines, and so gave to the world the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas and the *Divina Commedia* of Dante, who regarded the great Stagirite as a forerunner of Christ, as a philosophical John the Baptist. Luther, likewise, in his wrath against scholastic theology, condemned "the accursed heathen Aristotle," but Melanchthon judged differently, and Protestant scholarship has long since settled upon a just estimate.

Gregory VII., Innocent III., and other popes of the Middle Ages claimed and exercised the power, as vicars of Christ, to depose kings; to absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance, and to lay whole nations under the interdict for the disobedience of an individual. But no pope would presume to do such a thing now, nor would any Catholic king or nation tolerate it for a moment.

The strange, mythical notion of the ancient fathers that the Christian redemption was the payment of a debt due to the

devil, who had a claim upon men since the fall of Adam, but had forfeited it by the crucifixion, was abandoned after Anselm had published the more rational theory of a vicarious atonement in discharge of a debt due to God.

Thc unchristian and horrible doctrine that all unbaptized infants who never committed any actual transgression are damned forever and ever prevailed for centuries under the authority of the great and holy Augustin, but has lost its hold even upon those divines who defend the necessity of water-baptism for salvation. Even high Anglicans and strict Calvinists admit that all children dying in infancy are saved.

The equally unchristian and fearful theory and practice of religious compulsion and persecution by fire and sword, first mildly suggested by the same Augustin, and then formulated by the master-theologian of the Middle Ages (Thomas Aquinas), who deemed a heretic, or murderer of the soul, more worthy of death than a murderer of the body, has given way at last to the theory and practice of toleration and liberty.

The delusion of witchcraft, which extended even to Puritan New England and has cost almost as many victims as the tribunals of the Inquisition, has disappeared from all Christian nations forever.

THE CHURCH AND SCIENCE.

A few words about the relation of the church to natural and physical science.

Protestants and Catholics alike unanimously rejected the Copernican astronomy as a heresy fatal to the geocentric account of the creation, in Genesis; but after a century of opposition, which culminated in the condemnation of Galileo by the Roman Inquisition under Urban VIII., they have adopted it without a dissenting voice, and "the earth still moves."

Similar concessions will be made to modern geology and biology when they have passed the stage of conjecture and reached an agreement as to facts. The Bible does not determine the age of the earth or man, and leaves a large margin for difference of opinion even on purely exegetical grounds. The theory of the evolution of animal life, far from contradicting the fact of creation, presupposes it; for every evolution must

have a beginning, and this can only be accounted for by an infinite intelligence and creative will. God's power and wisdom are even more wonderful in the continual process than in a single act.

The theory of historical development, which corresponds to the theory of physical evolution, and preceded it, was first denounced by orthodox divines (within my own recollection) as a dangerous error leading to infidelity, but is now adopted by every historian. It is indorsed by Christ himself in the twin parables of the mustard-seed and the leaven. "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear"—this is the order of the unfolding of the Christian life, both in the individual and the church. But there is another law of development no less important, which may be called the law of creative headships. Every important intellectual and religious movement begins with a towering personality, which cannot be explained from antecedents, but marks a new epoch. Take as illustrations: Moses and the history of Israel, Socrates and the Greek philosophers, Cæsar and the Roman emperors, Constantine the Great and the Byzantine emperors, Charlemagne and the German emperors, Washington and the American presidents, Napoleon and his generals, Dante and the Italian poets, Shakespeare and the English poets, Raphael and his school of painters, Luther and the Lutheran divines, Calvin and the Reformed divines, Spener and the Pietists, Zinzendorf and the Moravians, Wesley and the Methodists, and, above all, Jesus Christ, who is the great central miracle of history, the beginning, the middle, and the end of Christianity.

The Bible, we must all acknowledge, is not, and never claimed to be, a guide of chronology, astronomy, geology, or any other science, but solely a book of religion, a rule of faith and practice, a guide to holy living and dying. There is, therefore, no room for a conflict between the Bible and science, faith and reason, authority and freedom, the church and civilization. They run in parallel lines, independent, and yet friendly and mutually helpful, tending to the same end—the salvation and perfection of man in the kingdom of God.

MEANS OF PROMOTING CHRISTIAN UNION.

Before the reunion of Christendom can be accomplished, we must expect providential events, new Pentecosts, new reformations—as great as any that have gone before. The twentieth century has marvellous surprises in store for the Church and the world, which may surpass even those of the nineteenth. History now moves with telegraphic speed, and may accomplish the work of years in a single day. The modern inventions of the steamboat, the telegraph, the power of electricity, the progress of science and of international law (which regulates commerce by land and by sea, and will in due time make an end of war), link all the civilized nations into one vast brotherhood.

Let us consider some of the moral means by which a similar affiliation and consolidation of the different churches may be hastened.

1. The cultivation of an irenic and evangelical-catholic spirit in the personal intercourse with our fellow-Christians of other denominations. We must meet them on common rather than on disputed ground, and assume that they are as honest and earnest as we in the pursuit of truth. We must make allowance for differences in education and surroundings, which to a large extent account for differences of opinion. Courtesy and kindness conciliate, while suspicion excites irritation and attack. Controversy will never cease, but the golden rule of the most polemic among the apostles—to "speak the truth in love"—cannot be too often repeated. Nor should we forget the seraphic description of love, which the same apostle commends above all gifts and the tongues of men and angels—yea, even above faith and hope.

2. Co-operation in Christian and philanthropic work draws men together and promotes their mutual confidence and regard. Faith without works is dead. Sentiment and talk about union are idle without actual manifestation in works of charity and philanthropy.

3. Missionary societies should at once come to a definite agreement, prohibiting all mutual interference in their efforts to spread the gospel at home and abroad. Every missionary of the cross should wish and pray for the prosperity of all other missionaries, and lend a helping hand in trouble. "What then?

only that in every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is proclaimed; and therein I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

It is preposterous, yea, wicked, to trouble the minds of the heathen or of Roman Catholics with our domestic quarrels, and to plant half a dozen rival churches in small towns, where one or two would suffice, thus saving men and means. Unfortunately, the sectarian spirit and mistaken zeal for peculiar views and customs very materially interfere with the success of our vast expenditures and efforts for the conversion of the world.

4. The study of church history has already been mentioned as an important means of correcting sectarian prejudices and increasing mutual appreciation. The study of symbolic or comparative theology is one of the most important branches of history in this respect, especially in our country, where professors of all the creeds of Christendom meet in daily contact, and should become thoroughly acquainted with one another.

5. One word suffices as regards the duty and privilege of prayer for Christian union, in the spirit of our Lord's sacerdotal prayer, that his disciples may all be one in him, as he is one with the Father.

CONCLUSION.

We welcome to the reunion of Christendom all denominations which have followed the divine Master and have done his work. Let us forgive and forget their many sins and errors, and remember only their virtues and merits.

The Greek Church is a glorious church: for in her language have come down to us the oracles of God, the Septuagint, the Gospels, and Epistles; hers are the early confessors and martyrs, the Christian fathers, bishops, patriarchs, and emperors; hers the immortal writings of Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, and Chrysostom; hers the Œcumenical Councils and the Nicene Creed, which can never die.

The Latin Church is a glorious church: for she carried the treasures of Christian and classical literature over the gulf of the migration of nations, and preserved order in the chaos of civil wars; she was the *Alma Mater* of the barbarians of Europe; she turned painted savages into civilized beings, and worshippers of idols into worshippers of Christ: she built up the colossal

structures of the papal theocracy, the canon law, the monastic orders, the cathedrals, and the universities; she produced the profound systems of scholastic and mystic theology; she stimulated and patronized the Renaissance, the printing-press, and the discovery of a new world; she still stands, like an immovable rock, bearing witness to the fundamental truths and facts of our holy religion, and to the catholicity, unity, unbroken continuity, and independence of the church; and she is as zealous as ever in missionary enterprise and self-denying works of Christian charity.

We hail the Reformation which redeemed us from the yoke of spiritual despotism and secured us religious liberty—the most precious of all liberties—and made the Bible in every language a book for all classes and conditions of men.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church, the first-born daughter of the Reformation, is a glorious church: for she set the word of God above the traditions of men, and bore witness to the comforting truth of justification by faith; she struck the keynote to thousands of sweet hymns in praise of the Redeemer; she is boldly and reverently investigating the problems of faith and philosophy, and is constantly making valuable additions to theological lore.

The Evangelical Reformed Church is a glorious church: for she carried the Reformation from the Alps and lakes of Switzerland "to the end of the West" (to use the words of the Roman Clement about St. Paul); she furnished more martyrs of conscience in France and the Netherlands alone than any other church, even during the first three centuries; she educated heroic races, like the Huguenots, the Dutch, the Puritans, the Covenanters, the Pilgrim Fathers, who by the fear of God were raised above the fear of tyrants, and lived and died for the advancement of civil and religious liberty; she is rich in learning and good works of faith; she keeps pace with all true progress; she grapples with the problems and evils of modern society; and she sends the gospel to the ends of the earth.

The Episcopal Church of England, the most churchly of the reformed family, is a glorious church: for she gave to the English-speaking world the best version of the Holy Scriptures and the best prayer-book; she preserved the order and dignity of the ministry and public worship; she nursed the knowledge and love

of antiquity, and enriched the treasury of Christian literature; and by the Anglo-Catholic revival under the moral, intellectual, and poetic leadership of three shining lights of Oxford—Pusey, Newman, and Keble—she infused new life into her institutions and customs, and prepared the way for a better understanding between Anglicanism and Romanism.

The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the most flourishing daughter of Geneva—as John Knox, "who never feared the face of man," was the most faithful disciple of Calvin—is a glorious church: for she turned a barren country into a garden, and raised a poor and semi-barbarous people to a level with the richest and most intelligent nations; she diffused the knowledge of the Bible and a love of the kirk in the huts of the peasant as well as the palaces of the nobleman; she has always stood up for church order and discipline, for the rights of the laity, and first and last for the crown-rights of King Jesus, which are above all earthly crowns, even that of the proudest monarch in whose dominion the sun never sets.

The Congregational Church is a glorious church: for she has taught the principle, and proved the capacity, of congregational independence and self-government based upon a living faith in Christ, without diminishing the effect of voluntary co-operation in the Master's service; and has laid the foundation of New England, with its literary and theological institutions and high social culture.

The Baptist Church is a glorious church: for she bore, and still bears, testimony to the primitive mode of baptism, to the purity of the congregation, to the separation of church and state, and the liberty of conscience; and has given to the world the *Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan, such preachers as Robert Hall and Charles H. Spurgeon, and such missionaries as Carey and Judson.

The Methodist Church, the church of John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield—three of the best and most apostolic Englishmen, abounding in useful labors, the first as a ruler and organizer, the second as a hymnist, the third as an evangelist—is a glorious church: for she produced the greatest religious revival since the day of Pentecost; she preaches a free and full salvation to all; she is never afraid to fight the devil,

and she is hopefully and cheerfully marching on, in both hemispheres, as an army of conquest.

The Society of Friends, though one of the smallest tribes in Israel, is a glorious society: for it has borne witness to the inner light which "lighteth every man that cometh into the world"; it has proved the superiority of the Spirit over all forms; it has done noble service in promoting tolerance and liberty, in prison reform, the emancipation of slaves, and other works of Christian philanthropy.

The Brotherhood of the Moravians, founded by Count Zinzendorf—a true nobleman of nature and of grace—is a glorious brotherhood: for it is the pioneer of heathen missions, and of Christian union among Protestant churches; it was like an oasis in the desert of German rationalism at home, while its missionaries went forth to the lowest savages in distant lands to bring them to Christ. I beheld with wonder and admiration a venerable Moravian couple devoting their lives to the care of hopeless lepers in the vicinity of Jerusalem.

Nor should we forget the services of many who are accounted heretics.

The Waldenses were witnesses of a pure and simple faith in times of superstition, and, having outlived many bloody persecutions, are now missionaries among the descendants of their persecutors.

The Anabaptists and Socinians, who were so cruelly treated in the sixteenth century by Protestants and Romanists alike, were the first to raise their voice for religious liberty and the voluntary principle in religion.

Unitarianism is a serious departure from the trinitarian faith of orthodox Christendom, but it did good service as a protest against tritheism, and against a stiff, narrow, and uncharitable orthodoxy. It brought into prominence the human perfection of Christ's character, and illustrated the effect of his example in the noble lives and devotional writings of such men as Channing and Martineau. It has also given us some of our purest and sweetest poets, as Emerson, Bryant, Longfellow, and Lowell, whom all good men must honor and love for their lofty moral tone.

Universalism may be condemned as a doctrine; but it has a right to protest against a gross materialistic theory of hell with all its Dantesque horrors, and against the once widely-spread popular

belief that the overwhelming majority of the human race, including countless millions of innocent infants, will forever perish. Nor should we forget that some of the greatest divines, from Origen and Gregory of Nyssa down to Bengel and Schleiermacher, believed in, or hoped for, the ultimate return of all rational creatures to the God of love, who created them in his own image and for his own glory.

And, coming down to the latest organization of Christian work, which does not claim to be a church, but which is a help to all churches,—the Salvation Army: we hail it, in spite of its strange and abnormal methods, as the most effective revival agency since the days of Wesley and Whitefield; for it descends to the lowest depths of degradation and misery, and brings the light and comfort of the gospel to the slums of our large cities. Let us thank God for the noble men and women who, under the inspiration of the love of Christ, and unmindful of hardship, ridicule, and persecution, sacrifice their lives to the rescue of the hopeless outcasts of society. Truly, these good Samaritans are an honor to the name of Christ and a benediction to a lost world.

There is room for all these and many other churches and societies in the kingdom of God, whose height and depth and length and breadth, variety and beauty, surpass human comprehension.

"O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past tracing out! For, who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor? or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and unto him, are all things. To him be the glory for ever. Amen."

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

PLEA FOR AN ENLARGED VIEW OF THE CHURCH'S MISSION.

By President E. Benjamin Andrews, D.D., of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

The conviction is widely prevalent that the Christian church is failing to fulfil the entire mission which God and men have a right to expect of her. Lack is felt not so much in that painfully slow progress is made in converting the heathen, as because of the church's feebleness, the meagre success of her ministry, in those fields where she possesses most strength and has had the longest time to exert it. No one denies that the church wields great influence. Its foes agree with its friends that it is still a mighty force in human affairs, though most who oppose it, and I fear some who befriend, would call it a waning force. But such as ardently love it admit and keenly feel that its power is in no wise so great as it ought to be.

When we consider the sweeping promises of Scripture, the prophecies which seem to imply that the gospel was meant to triumph quickly, the rapidity of its spread in early Christian times, its marvellous victories even more recently, when nations have been almost literally born in a day; when we reflect, further, upon the tremendous resources of the church at present, its numbers, its wealth, its learning, its standing in society, its access to all men through the press, by means of agencies for travel and communication, and because old savagery and national barriers have given way, such thoughts force us to feel that if Christianity is the peculiarly divine thing which we believe it to be, it ought long ago to have become the universal religion. On the contrary, not only is heathendom still defiant and even aggressive, but it is possible to question whether a single one among the so-called Christian nations is a whit more Christian to-day than it was fifty years ago.

This long and sad delay in the coming of the kingdom has

occasioned two phenomena worthy of special note. One is the amazing progress of new Millenarianism, the swift multiplication of men and women as devout and intelligent as any in the world, who do not expect decisive victory for Christianity during the present dispensation or under the present means of grace. Saints, they believe, will never be radically bettered, or the fulness of the Gentiles be brought in, through such work as the church is now doing, though we must continue this till the great renovation comes, because it is the Master's will that testimony should be universally borne to the guilt of sin and the plenitude of his grace. Such is the view of a vast multitude among evangelical Christians now.

The other significant phenomenon to be noticed is the large and increasing number of people who pretend to be in some sort believers in Christ and well-wishers to his truth, who refuse to recognize the church as any longer, if it ever was, the special bearer of essential Christianity. Numerous members of the new ethical societies both abroad and in America would illustrate the class of people here meant. One could also point to the often very unselfish workers in the non-religious charities of so many American cities as representing the same attitude.

That Christ has his true followers in the church these people do not deny, but they emphatically deny that the spirit and teachings of Christ are now exemplified in the life and policy of the church as such. They berate the church for its apathy touching social and moral wrongs in general, just as the abolitionists were wont to denounce it for tolerating slavery. Most that Christ was interested in, they allege, the latter-day church as such, the church as seen in its public and official acts, cares nothing about ; while most that seems truly dear to the church is what Christ either ignored or positively condemned.

A very large class of good people, doubtless in the main Christians, whom we all love, and strive to bring into our churches, might be mentioned with the above. They do not criticise the church so severely as the others do; they do not deny its special mission as Christ's herald. Yet it is in their minds so little exclusively identified with the work of Christ in the world that they see no special reason why they should join it, and therefore, in spite of all our importunity, do not do so.

I for my part believe not only in Christianity but in the

church as its divinely-ordained representative and custodian. All the more because of this faith I feel bound to heed the criticisms of those who look upon the church in a different way. The Israel of God may be an Israel indeed, yet more or less completely in captivity. A true servant of God may be astray, either involuntarily, through ignorance, or voluntarily, in consequence of sin. In neither case should his function as servant be denied. Instead, every effort should be made to bring him back into proper, loyal, perfectly efficient service. I also believe the church to be now in the midst of her winning and final dispensation. It is my conviction that we are to conquer the world by the very same means of grace that are now, however imperfectly, in use. The trouble is that we are dallying with these means. We are not sufficiently in earnest. We ought to awake from our lethargy, to take God at his word, to imitate Christ, to use rather than abuse those powers for the conversion of the world which have been so graciously confided to us.

I cannot in this brief paper discuss all the evils which conspire to delay the church's due victory, but I believe most of them connect themselves with a certain illegitimate and vicious narrowness in the view which Christians take of the plans and purposes supposed to have been cherished by the Head of the church in founding it. Our thought of the field and function to which the church is called to-day is wry and petty as compared with Christ's own thought. This failure on the part of the church rightly to see and magnify its office relates partly to polity and partly to doctrine.

The fault touching polity consists in the fact that every denomination or establishment within the church, instead of humbly regarding itself a facet of the one holy catholic church, lays claim in theory and in much of its practice to exclusive ecclesiastical legitimacy. Each, in effect, says, "I am the church, and all the rest of you to be in the church must come and unite with me." I know full well that individual Christians often, if not usually, ridicule assumption of this sort. Most of us, when we as individual believers pray for the holy catholic church, have before our minds a thought blessedly inclusive. We take into our affections Catholic and Greek, Anglican and Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Plymouth brother, and soldier of the Salvation Army, and probably no one of us in such a prayer ever

entertains the idea that those fellow-Christians, to be blessed as we pray, must adopt this or that ecclesiastical costume. But no way has as yet been found to realize this splendid width of charity in church practice. Our ecclesiastical machinery forbids. It is too stiff. Most Christian people, however catholic in their personal feelings and thinking, still regard so sacred each his special mode of church building that they will defend and bolster it even when, so far as can be seen, souls are certainly perishing in consequence of such narrowness. The pope is no more rigid in this than the average Protestant. Forgetting that under any one's theory polity can be naught but a means, good people exalt shibboleth above salvation.

The heathenizing results of this in city evangelization, in religious work for country communities, and especially in planting Christianity on the western frontier, have been described often and very pathetically, though with little apparent effect as yet. There is still almost total lack of co-ordination in the work of Protestant churches, hardly any of that order and economy which enables the Romanists to do such wonders with their slender resources. In cities numerous powerful congregations huddle together where one could do as much good as all do now. Every mission field in a wealthy neighborhood is fought for by a half-score of denominations, while the dives and slums are neglected about in proportion to their need. In each country town two, four, or six apologies for churches try to live where one strong one would suffice, where, moreover, such strong church could easily be built up by combination of effort, and where such being erected, would do ten times the good which the weaklings at present accomplish. Nine tenths of the people thus preventing each other from saving souls surmise their error and could easily be led to act differently ; but not being experts in theology, they suppose their present course somehow right because the ecclesiastical authorities over them approve it, particularly as by sedulous begging in remote parts where the evil is not known, the authorities manage to provide them with more or less money to sink. It is by this flagitious anarchy that Protestants, as all see with regret, continually play into the hands of the Catholic Church. We shall have increasing cause to dread papal supremacy in America so long as our religious resources are thus foolishly and sinfully frittered away.

Nor is this the worst that we have to fear. Most of our poorer country and frontier communities are threatened with desperate, abject apathy touching religion amounting to downright infidelity and carrying with it immoralities of the grossest kind. In many parts these evils are already realized. Nothing but zealous, hearty co-operation in religious work on the part of different religious denominations will avoid this fate or introduce a better state of things. Yet in the face of this peril religious teachers, each on his little patch of the Lord's vineyard, serenely go on inculcating the old divisive church polity, unfortunately exerting influence enough to continue the anarchy and even to invest it in the minds of excellent Christian people with a sort of sacredness.

It is neither necessary nor desirable that all denominations should merge in one body. That is a vain and not very poetic dream. Nor is it required that all should teach the same views concerning polity. What is needed is that all churchmen as such should come to believe and believe practically what nearly all privately acknowledge already, that polity is good for nothing except as a helper in the church's saving work; that church orders and ordinances were made for men, not men for them. Let this be heartily taken up into Christian teaching everywhere, and the Christian love in the hearts of good men will inevitably prompt them whenever the two interests are opposed to subordinate mere matters of polity to the real promotion of God's truth, the salvation of sinners, and the edification of believers. Denominations will still stand and each have an even better chance than now to show what good is in it. But feeble, spindling churches will be far less numerous on our frontiers and in our hamlets. City congregations will cease to crowd one another; co-operation will succeed anarchy; all missionary fields will be cultivated up to the limit of the resources of the total church; immense economies in the way of theological teaching and missionary and philanthropic machinery will be introduced; and the millennium be hastened in a thousand ways.

A larger conception is desirable for the church in relation to doctrine as well as in relation to polity. In its official acts and utterances the church almost always over-emphasizes doctrine as compared with life, salvation, and good works. Relatively too great stress is placed on creeds. If men steadfastly believe that

which is true concerning divine things, they are permitted to suppose that in some manner their chances of eternal life are pretty good, though their spiritual status in the present life may be very bad. I know well that no church longer teaches this in so many words, but it is the impression that still goes out into the world from the very pronounced regard which nearly all public acts and utterances of churches pay to doctrine. The Presbyterians of America are infinitely more interested in the prevalence of genuine godliness throughout our borders than in Professor Briggs' orthodoxy; but they are much the more impressively on official record touching Briggs' views, and people outside all churches judge them accordingly. All other sects suffer in the same way. Concerning the Trinity, concerning regeneration, concerning future retribution the churches manage to express themselves formally and solemnly before the public; but upon such immensely important matters as the wrong of stock-gambling, the legitimacy of trusts, and the various griefs of the laboring masses, matters all highly vital in a moral point of view, and now interesting all the serious thinkers of Christendom,—upon these only the pope, among the ecclesiastical authorities of our time, has said one official word.

In this matter of doctrine, too, the spontaneous thinking of most Christians is correct enough. All Christians, as such, care more for true religion in their own and other men's souls than for nice, regular, and incessantly reiterated credal statements. In fact, so far as concerns their private thinking, many Christians respect the mental or doctrinal side of religion far too little. There is distinct need that such be exhorted to study theological doctrines.

But when it comes to church utterances, the examination of ministers for ordination and of people for admission to church membership; whenever the question is publicly up how the church shall express herself to the world concerning what mainly interests her as her peculiar message from Christ, you always find creed and doctrine coming to the front. This is almost as much the case now as it was in the third and fourth centuries or in the age of the Reformation. Asked why she is here, challenged to produce her commission, the church draws herself up and proudly declares herself Christ's chosen defender of his truth, and when pushed for a definition of this truth, habitually speaks of it as

something almost entirely intellectual. It is some verity about God, Christ, man, or their mutual relations. In a word, the church, in her official utterances to men, as to what she deems most precious, lays vastly more emphasis upon theology than upon Christianity.

I should, I believe, be one of the last to deny that Christianity is charged with some duty to theology. The mental side of our faith must not be neglected. Creeds ought to exist. I believe most strongly that the moral side of faith, persistence in holy conduct, in good deeds, charities, and other helpfulness to men, depends in the last analysis upon firm intellectual belief in a spiritual world and a living God. "The faith," in that sense, must be maintained, and there may be brief periods in the history of the church when this will be her main business.

But usually it is not her main business, and it is not so now. Further, so far as this teaching task is ever imposed upon Christian people, the direct method of attempting it is hardly ever the best. The masses of men learn of God's goodness and of the immortal life through contact with good men and experience of their works far more than through the inculcation and discussion of religious philosophemes. Christ was the perfect model teacher in this regard, and what would bless the church more than aught else is to come back to Christ and his method here.

Though Christ did very little theological teaching, having next to nothing in common with the typical doctor of the church in its different ages, he was yet incessantly busy with teaching such as it was. He was forever making known, partly by precept, partly by act, a moral philosophy which was at once spiritual and practical. The law of love was its basis, and the application of this law its amplification. How to live and act, how to be good, make all whom you meet happier and the world better, how to raise the fallen, cheer the faint, heal the sick, and open the eyes of the blind,—such were his themes. What he wished was that men might have *life* more abundantly than ever before. He did not address himself directly to any changes in men's formal ideas or statements about divine things. His policy was first to possess hearts by love, knowing that doctrine would then care for itself. Even in the great commission under which Christ's followers were sent forth to convert the Gentile nations, the central conception is

discipleship to him, a conception in which I find no doctrinal element whatever, except, perhaps, through remote and incidental interference. Christ does not say, "Tell men to hold the views which I hold about high things." He says, "Tell them to love me, and hence follow and imitate me."

Carrying out in these days Christ's example as a teacher and transformer of the world, the church should, I believe, attach a hundred times more importance than it usually does to its practical offices of love. There are thousands of churches in this country which do not do one thing for the communities where they are, save to open their houses of worship once or twice a week for brief religious services. This is worth much, especially when we consider the good in private living which it stimulates, but I appeal to you to say whether after all it is aught more than a faint, hardly recognizable imitation of Christ's ministry to men.

Not to mention details, I would lay it down that every church should concern itself with all the charitable, educational, and reformatory work of every kind required in its community. It need not necessarily remove from the public authority any such service that is well performed, but it should see that all are well performed. Also, I am far from recommending indiscriminate charity. Of this we have far too much. The church's business in this regard is to do its utmost to organize and rationalize charity, and insist upon its being well administered, adding to existing charities any others only when they are needed, and carrying them all on, not according to the spontaneous and often unwise promptings of good hearts, but discreetly, in such manner as to make them blessings in the completest possible degree. We ought to see to it that no suffering which we can prevent occurs anywhere, that the poor are not oppressed, that politics is as pure and the course of justice as direct as possible. The cause of the poor and him that hath no helper, of the feeble and unfortunate, ought to be the church's cause. If people not Christians also espouse these same interests, be it ours to outdo them in zeal and enterprise.

All this would of course necessitate on the part of the church provision for new and more careful study and teaching upon moral and social questions. Proper information in this field is hardly obtainable anywhere now. Many of the evils of which all complain are the pure products of ignorance. Christians of the

best opportunities to learn know all too little about the details of proper conduct on their own part, or concerning policies and methods for correcting the ills which afflict society. If it is the church's business to do good at all, I see no escape from the church's responsibility to make deep and triumphant study of these grave problems now so earnestly and angrily discussed, and to teach the results from the pulpit and in every other possible way. A new sort of theological education, more practical than the old, is imperatively needed. Our Sunday-schools might be utilized in that interest, and how innumerable agencies of the church could be made useful to the same end I need not stop to describe.

Suppose some such ideal as has thus been hinted at were carried out, how long would the proverbial absence of poor and ordinary people from our churches continue? How long would agitators be able to point out the apathy of Christian people to the fortunes of laboring men? How long could it be said with any truth, as it can now be said with some, that the church is simply an affair of the classes, of the relatively rich and great? How long would our religious services be so meagrely attended as most of them are at present? Not long. Religion would soon become a mightier power than ever and the millennium not be long deferred.

And what if nothing is done toward the changes indicated? Depend upon it, Christianity will take care of itself, but it may have to find a bearer different from any of the churches which now exist. I am forced sometimes to fear that the Almighty may have in store a sweeping change in the agent of his saving work among men. To every body now called a church he may be preparing to say: "Weighed and found wanting; the Lord hath done with you." The wonderful spread of the Salvation Army is some hint of this. The laboring masses or their best leaders are coming to see that genuine morality is needful to any valuable reform in their condition. They will one day discover that such morality can be solidly based nowhere else than upon Christ. Should the church remain cold as now toward the masses of men and their interests, and a great Christian labor-leader be raised up, a Luther and a Powderly both in one, Christianity would stride to victory through him, but its agent would be a new church, bearing to the establishments represented in this congress somewhat

the relation which original Protestantism bore to the Catholic Church of its time. This would certainly be better than not to have religion progress at all. But oh, how infinitely better still will it be if the church, as we know it and as the ages know it, shall rise to the necessary newness of spirit and adopt the necessary methods for the reformation which must come!

THE STORY OF A CHURCH.

By Rev. Russell H. Conwell, D.D., LL.D., of Philadelphia.

Brethren and Sisters: I have sixteen minutes in which to answer the questions which have been propounded to me; and the first one is, "What are the methods of our church work?"

It requires something that looks like egotism to tell of work on the part of a man who is so personally associated with it. But I can say truthfully, I have only been introduced to speak on the principle, urgently presented, that there are other churches who desire to do the same thing that we have done.

I have no doubt that there are Philadelphia pastors here to-night that never heard of our church. We never in any sense advertise it. Our church methods are simply, that there are old-fashioned forms of church-worship which we pursue, and we conduct them with exceeding simplicity. We began ten years ago, with about ninety workers. From that the church has increased steadily. Philadelphia is one of those steady cities. It is unlike other cities in this, that it grows steadily, and if you have an audience one Sunday, you are sure of it the next Sunday, and you are sure of it the next year, and you can't get a great audience at once if you try. No bands will bring it. No sensation will arouse it. It is only the steady growth of the city, characteristic of the people. I say, ten years ago we began with about ninety. The membership of our church is now some twenty-two hundred. I have received from conversions in our church into the membership of the church—that is, received by baptism—a little over twenty-five hundred in ten years; and we know where those twenty-five hundred are. When we had a roll-call last May, of those who are yet living of the twenty-five hundred, all but fourteen answered, saying where they were.

Our methods of church work are exceedingly simple. The members of the church *work*. We have no rich people in our

church, for which we thank God, and shall continue to do so. If we had had any rich men to give us one hundred thousand dollars, or ten thousand, in times of distress, of course we would not have seen our way so clearly. But the congregation being composed of poor people, and in a neighborhood where there are not many rich people, we have been obliged to depend entirely upon the people for the support and for the work. And I speak of that because there are people, perhaps, who feel they are under great difficulties because they have no rich men in their congregation. Thank God for that. Rich men kill churches by giving too much. A poor man has a right to give, and when he gives, has a right to be appreciated just as much as the rich man. If he does not give, he does not appreciate it.

I will begin with the church services. They are very simple, very plain. We have no sensationalism of any kind or shape—no brass band, no advertising, no gathering of people by any sort of methods. We send out no canvassers, we circulate no tracts, no advertisements—nothing. We simply ask people to get there early that they may be sure of a seat, because if they don't they can't get a seat in the upper or lower service. But that has not been by advertising. They find it out by experience.

Now, at the church services there is a plain, simple sermon, and all of those are unstudied, because the pastor is so busy through the week that he hasn't time to study. In the morning we begin with a young men's service at half-past nine o'clock. About two hundred young men attend the morning prayer-meeting. At 10.30 is the sermon I have spoken of—unstudied and simple. I was walking behind a couple the other night. They said: "I don't see what under the sun sends anybody to that church." That was after the sermon. But the service consists of volunteer singing. We have a chorus of two hundred and eighty voices, all of them Christians, who sing because they love to sing and wish to praise God in leading the congregation. The church has grown in these ten years, as I say, to this membership. We were obliged to move out of the church we had at first, and we constructed a building called the Temple, in which we have a congregation of about 4210 regularly, and on extra occasions about 4616. That is the upper auditorium. We also occupy the lower auditorium at the same time with another service. I have a twin pastor who preaches in the lower hall while I am

preaching in the upper hall; even then we are not able to accommodate the people who come, and last Sunday night we turned away a great many, and it is simply a regular thing that has been going on through the years. The building cost $257,000. We began it with fifty-seven cents. That is all we had in the beginning. We went on with it, and the Lord did not allow us to miss any single engagement, though we were all poor. We had ten thousand dollars to pay at twelve o'clock last Monday week, and the 20th of August didn't see a penny in hand. But it has come in through the mail, in small sums. I gave out four thousand pennies to my congregation one Sunday night, and asked them to invest it. They brought back six thousand dollars, the other day. We prayed to the Lord, and depended on his help. We believed we would have the money, and we thought we would have the exact money, because it has occurred many times before that we have had the exact money, to a penny. But the other day we had three hundred dollars over. It was something remarkable in our history, and just as we were wondering at it a bill came in from the architect for three hundred dollars that we had forgotten. The building itself is constructed in the amphitheatrical form, with a very deep gallery, and with rising seats around the pulpit, with the great chorus behind the pulpit and in front of the large organ. The building itself is 150 feet long by 107 broad, being 12 feet wider and 20 feet deeper than Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle in London; but his tabernacle has two galleries, and ours has one, although that gallery is much deeper than are those of Mr. Spurgeon's. You get some idea, those who have attended there. It is lit by electric light. We have our own plant adjoining the church.

We have in connection with the church seven Christian Endeavor societies, seven reading-rooms for seven different associations—young men, young women, the older women, the business men, the Boys' Brigade, the Girls' Society, and the Young Women's Association. We asked the congregation one night to bring us in twenty-two hundred books, and a man walked out of the church and said, "They won't bring the twenty-two hundred books." But the next Sunday we had the twenty-two hundred books. Each one brought in one. Thus we have furnished the library with what each person brought in. Consequently, we have the best library in the world, because no person can under-

stand the experiences of four thousand people. It is a cheap way of getting these things. We have to do it cheaply. We have a gymnasium for the young men and the young women and the Boys' Brigade. They have their drill-rooms and their guns to practise with, though we don't believe in training them much in the art of war. We have our courses of entertainments. We have lectures and concerts and such things, in the church or in connection with it: but we never have anything there without first having a prayer-meeting over it and asking God's blessing upon it; and if God's blessing don't rest upon it once, we don't try it again. We never have a fair without many conversions. We have held many church fairs to bring people together and to give each an opportunity to give a little, and they don't seem to be poor about it. We have various missions throughout the city. One is constructing a fine church.

We have our own hospital, with one hundred and twenty-seven beds, and accommodating one hundred and fifteen by visitation every day, of the sick poor. And the hospital is perfectly free. No one pays anything, whether he is rich or poor, when he goes to that hospital. The hospital building is some distance north of us, on Broad Street.

We are now constructing a building for our college, to set it on its feet. Seven young men came to me and said, "We wish to study for the ministry." I said, "I will teach you Latin and Greek." I didn't know what I was undertaking. I asked a friend to teach them. When the seven came, they had grown to forty. That was eight years ago. We wished to teach these young men, who were working all day and had friends to support and couldn't get away to school. That school grew to hundreds, until last year the number in attendance in all the departments —I have to speak so rapidly that I may not make it clear—but in all the departments of the college there were thirty-one hundred students. In the main department, the ecclesiastical department, the literary department of the college, there were twenty-one hundred students out of those thirty-one hundred. The other thousand were in the musical department and the art department. This year we have not so many, because we are in hard times, and we are building, and we are obliged to cut down our force. We don't know how many of these young men we could get if we could take them, but the building will accommodate twenty-one

hundred. The state has now chartered us to give collegiate degrees. If a young man, by working nights and noon-times, will get as thorough an education as a rich man's son in some distant college, he is entitled to as high a degree. Now we have been obliged to open a day department to accommodate those who wish to pay, and we have begun a day college. If they come in the daytime and pay their tuition, we take them at any grade and carry them up to the full college grade, taking Princeton as our standard for graduation. And the number who attend there, I say, is so great that we cannot accommodate them all. It shows that this can be done in any town or city in the United States, and the church ought to undertake it, in order to send out many to preach the gospel, in order to give education to the poor that have made their own living. The best way to be charitable is to help a man to help himself. This college has grown in such manner that we find persons from a distance writing and asking us to let them come and be examined. They cannot attend, but they wish to be examined regularly. And that class has grown very large. But I have not time to go into details of this college work. I wish I might, because many of your churches ought to undertake it in the cities where you live. The college has been supported up to this year by the gifts of different people; but the day department which we have added, in which they pay their own tuition, will pay all the expenses of the evening department, to give free education to all employés. And thus it has worked itself out. At first it had to be supported, but now it is on a safe financial basis, and if the pastors were to die or the church itself stop, the college would go on, so far as we can see, for all coming time. The college is being built entirely from the gifts of the poor, each of whom gives his little, a few cents here and a few dollars there.

You may ask how the income of the church is collected when we have so many. We rent the seats in the church—not the pews; we have none. We rent the chairs in the church, but every member of the church, however poor he is, is entitled to a single seat—not in a poor quarter either, because he has an equal chance with every other, and a man gives what he can afford to give and has his own seat, which is his own home in the church, and the trustees inform me that nearly all the sittings are taken in the large temple. The income of the church is from the

pew-rentals and from the gifts in the basket; the gifts in the basket amounting to about one hundred or one hundred and fifty dollars every Sunday. The income last year was a little over $95,000, and yet there were no large gifts, but just the gifts from the many flowing in from the various springs, which we cannot fathom nor follow nor know. But all this work is done with prayer first and all the time,—by depending upon the arm of God. No human being could do it. I have hundreds of letters and newspapers asking, "How do you do it?" as if I did it. It is not done there. It is done by the Spirit of God, working in wonderful ways. And you will understand something of how wonderful the way is when I tell you that for five years of our Christian work in that church —for five years and two months there was not a week, summer nor winter, in which there were not exactly seven persons that came forward for prayer—just seven, for five years and two months, every week—one a day, right along there for five years. Never any more, never any less. Never fourteen one week and seven the next week. Nothing of the kind. Just seven. I say that that was so remarkable that people came from a distance to see it, and it filled me sometimes with a superstitious kind of terror, when I would see the seventh person rise, and know that the whole congregation were feeling that there would be no more. People have said this frequently, and that may have been the reason of it, but it has been mysterious. You can't explain why that has gone on to the extent that it has gone, and I can see nothing but some mysterious influence of God, as though he had purposed in his heart on high that there among those working people in Philadelphia there should be established such an interest, such a college, such a hard-working people, and a church where the poor might freely worship.

Now I wish I had time to answer questions about it: but to any person writing to me at Philadelphia I will gladly furnish any information that may be of assistance in connection with this kind of work. I do not myself regard it as so remarkable, but I have tried to answer these questions as rapidly as I could. As I must speak in Ohio to-morrow night, I am obliged to take a train in half an hour.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH.

By Rev. C. A. Dickinson, of Boston.

In accepting the invitation to speak on this occasion I thought that possibly I might interest some of you in the topic assigned me by attempting to answer certain questions which have been put to me during the past six years relating to the Institutional Church. I certainly do not claim to be an authority upon this subject, and I have nothing oracular to impart to you in this line of special work. I am, with the rest of you, a seeker after truth, an experimenter in a certain interesting field. I bring you to-day a few simple conclusions drawn from personal observation and experience.

So far as I know, the phrase "Institutional Church" was first applied to Berkeley Temple of Boston. Like all new phrases, it has not yet a very exact or satisfactory definition. If I were to define it, I should use the words which Paul addressed to the Corinthian Church: "Ye are the body of Christ." The true church is a continuation of the miracle of the Incarnation. As the body of Christ on earth it aims to represent Christ in the sense of representing him physically, morally, and spiritually to people who live in the present age. It aims to provide a material environment wherein the spiritual Christ can express himself and be felt among men as when he was here in the flesh, and it begins by planting itself just where he stood and worked—in the midst of publicans and sinners.

The Institutional Church is an organism rather than an organization. It is an institution evolved from a germinal idea, every part of which is vitally related to every other part, growing out of the central idea, and contributing to the great end, as the various parts of the tree grow from the seed and contribute to the production of the fruit.

An Institutional Church to be thoroughly successful must begin at the beginning with the germinal idea of ministration

according to the charter given by Christ himself in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew. All of its methods and departments must grow out of this central idea. In other words, standing as the body of the self-sacrificing, ministering Christ, its various appliances, methods, personalities, departments, must all be living instruments for carrying on Christ's will and wish.

While I do not wish to be understood here as criticising the conventional church organization, I am quite sure that we cannot attach to this organization to any great extent the distinctive Institutional Church methods. We cannot make an Institutional Church by simply opening a reading-room or a dorcastry. We have got, first of all, to plant at the centre of our enterprise the vital purpose of constant, untiring, impartial, far-reaching ministration. Around this great purpose we must gather the choicest personalities, men and women, few or many, whose regnant motive is not salary, nor reputation, nor official control, but a downright desire to save men and better the world. With this purpose, and with these persons, who are by no means so rare as some would have us believe, it is possible to build an Institutional Church in almost any community, for, as I take it, the various appliances and agencies of such a church are but the natural means for carrying out the great initial purpose. The reading-room, the classes in painting or stenography, the weekly entertainment, the athletic class, the relief department, are employed simply because they are adapted to carry out the great underlying idea of ministration. Unless that idea is everywhere prevalent in the church, unless pastor and people keep it uppermost in their lives, these various departments amount to but very little.

I think it is safe to say that all Christian people are in a measure conscious of the defects of the old-time church organization, and many pastors and laymen sincerely desire to avail themselves of such new methods as may commend themselves to their judgment. But withal there is a general feeling that the methods of the Institutional Church are not suited to the great majority of parishes. This is, of course, true if our idea of the Institutional Church necessarily comprises the many varied departments which are to be found in St. George's or Berkeley Temple; but if the Institutional Church depends upon its initial purpose and prevailing spirit rather than upon its par-

ticular methods, it is possible for every body of earnest Christians to become such a church. In this sense I am certain that there are many institutional churches in this country to-day,—churches which are full of devoted workers, who, through one kind of organization or another best suited to the circumstances in which they are working, are engaged in a thousand helpful ministrations. While it may not be practicable for every city church to attempt to pattern after the pioneer institution, most of them can greatly multiply their special methods of ministration. With the money and the consecrated personalities which a majority of them can command, they could, if they would, greatly increase their power in the community by making the church edifice a conspicuous centre and source of humanitarian work. Some of these churches might do all and more than the most completely organized church is doing to-day, but they are prevented from doing it by the conservative tendencies of a few of their members. The pastors, unable to overcome their conservatism and yet burning to do the work which the Lord has opened to them, have tried to compromise with their deacons and prudential committees by introducing a few of the features of the Institutional Church, but as a rule they have not succeeded greatly, and in not a few cases the new methods have been brought into disrepute simply because those who gave tone to the old church life refused to sacrifice the old conventionalities, and neglected to put into the new methods the essential spirit.

The question is frequently asked, "What are some of the features of the Institutional Church?" Apart from the central idea of self-sacrificing ministration, which is none other than the idea of Christ working in and through his own body, I do not know that there is any feature which may be considered as absolutely essential, and yet there are three or four features which in my judgment are of the highest importance.

First, the Institutional Church aims to be all things to all men in the Pauline sense. It works to save all of the man, and all men, by all means. If its spirit is that of ministration, its principle of action is that of adaptation. It does not hesitate to employ secular means to gain a spiritual end. It must be remembered that the non-church-goer, as a rule, regards as a bore the very thing which the Christian esteems as a privilege, and that in order to make him change his opinion he must be brought

around to a different standpoint, where he can be made to see that the church is interested in the things which interest him. It is all very well to open our church doors on the Lord's day and say to the people, "Come in." The sad truth is, however, that they will not come on any such invitation. Eloquent preaching, fine music, comfortable seats may attract a few of the occasional church-goers, but the habitual non-church-goers will respond to none of these things. Should those of us who are preachers take a canvass of our congregations for the purpose of finding out how many of those who have listened to our preaching the past year were non-church-goers one, two, or five years ago, the result would doubtless surprise us. It is probable that in most of our churches the accessions of this kind are not as numerous as the divisions of the pastor's last sermon on the universal conquest of the gospel. The attendance has been increased, if at all, either at the expense of other congregations, or from the habitually non-church-going classes. Only in rare cases has any serious break been made in that circumambient wall of indifference and worldliness which is pressing hard upon us, and which, like the inclosing walls of the Inquisition prison-cell, is crushing the very life out of some of our churches.

Before a church can succeed very largely in evangelizing a thickly-populated district it must, in a sense, put itself in the place of the non-church-goer, look through his eyes, and shape its methods somewhat according to his tastes and prejudices. Not that the church should conform to the world, but that it should be all things to all men in the true Pauline sense, that by all means it may save some. The average man of the world is interested in the church just as soon as he is convinced that the church is interested not merely in his spiritual but in his temporal welfare.

Secondly, the Institutional Church works through a well-appointed building and according to a thoroughly-organized system. The doors of the church are open all day and every day. Make the church, as a great ministering force, omnipresent in the minds of the people. Keep them thinking about it, and talking about it all the week. Attract them as often as possible through its doors. Make them feel that there is no part of the normal life excluded from it, and you at once have a strong hold upon them.

Every pew should be absolutely free. The more I have to do with the non-church-goers the more I am convinced that the pew-rent stands as a barrier between them and the church. The door of the rented pew swings usually on the hinge of selfishness. It stands as an ally to the prejudices which exist between the rich and the poor, as an embargo upon the attendance of children at church, and as a satire upon Christian hospitality. With these open doors and free pews, the Institutional Church strives through patient, well-organized effort to reclaim its lost prerogatives of ministration. It aims to become the conspicuous source and centre of all beneficent service. It allows no other philanthropic or charitable institution, however worthy, to point to its closed doors and folded hands, and say, "What are you doing to relieve the sick, to aid the widow and the fatherless, to feed the hungry, and to raise the fallen?" In neglecting these, its prime duties, the church has lost its influence in a field which legitimately belongs to it, and has let slip some of its grandest prerogatives. As a consequence this influence and these prerogatives have passed over to the outside institutions or associations, which by doing the things that the church ought to be doing have become a substitute for it in the interests and affections of the non-church-going population.

But should the church become a hospice or asylum for the broken-hearted, the broken-willed, the broken-bodied? Why not? It was designed for this purpose by our Lord, and it was made such by his disciples. The modern church, with its rented pews, closed doors, and six days' interregnum of inactivity, can hardly be said to have its prototype in the church of the old Jerusalem, or its antitype in the temple of the New Jerusalem; for the first was certainly organized for "*daily* ministration" (Acts vi.); and in the second "the gates shall not be shut at all by day" (Rev. xxi. 25). It is not the asseverations of the minister on the first of the seven days, but the ministrations of the people during each of the seven days, that make a church aggressive, and in that sense a worthy successor of its apostolic original. Such a church is neither controversial nor apologetic. It does not mistake the cleave-axe of the sectarian for the sword of the Spirit. It refutes error by actualizing the truth. It conquers man by helping him to conquer himself. It defeats the world by blessing it. Such a church, as the body of Christ, filled and inspired by the Spirit of

Christ, stands like a voiceful light on the Damascus road, a resplendent contradiction to the taunts and objections of the scoffer.

In the third place the Institutional Church carries on its work of ministration through a plurality of workers salaried and unsalaried. The idea that one pastor can do all the work of a parish is due, it seems to me, to the common misconception of the aims and functions of the church. The opinion prevails very largely in Protestant churches that the chief object of the church is to furnish two preaching services on Sunday, a Sabbath-school, and one or two prayer-meetings in the week, for which purpose a building is erected and furnished, and it is thought that the work of a minister consists for the most part in preparing his two sermons, taking charge of the weekly prayer-meeting, and making parish calls. It is not easy to convince the average Protestant congregation that there is actual work enough in their parish to employ the time and energy of two pastors. They have allowed other organizations to do the work which they ought to have done. In addition to the plurality of pastors, there should be in every large church other paid workers who are always ready to sympathize with the needs of the multitudes which are sure to come through the open doors. And still in addition to these there should be scores of unpaid workers each of whom should find his congenial field of service and attend to it faithfully.

With the spirit of ministration thus manifested to a needy, tempted world through open doors, free pews, and sympathetic, Christian hearts, the multitudes will as surely respond as they did when they thronged about the Christ.

In the church in which I have the honor of serving we have three pastors, six or eight other salaried workers, and at least four hundred and fifty unpaid workers who are discharging some specific and regular service, and during the busy season of the year the aggregate attendance which passes through the church-doors in a single week is from eight to ten thousand.

There are three or four objections to the Institutional Church which call for a word in closing: The financial expense involved in maintaining such a church, the difficulty of securing an efficient leader, the complexity of the organization, and the materialistic tendencies of the plan.

In answer to the first objection, it may be said that the necessary expenses will not seem large when the number of workers and the amount of work done is taken into account. As a matter of fact, the actual cost of running such an organization is no greater than that incurred by many large city churches where they have but one salaried officer and a choir, and where the church is open but once or twice a week.

As to the second objection, there is a tendency to regard this kind of work as so peculiar and extraordinary as to require an exceptional experience and preparation for its accomplishment. There are many to-day who regard the Institutional Church as an ecclesiastical eccentricity resulting from eccentric pastors who happen to have a special faculty along certain lines, and special facilities for exercising them. While every church is in a sense the blossom of the pastor's personality, I should be very loath to admit that a movement which has so evidently touched the hearts of the Christian people of to-day is to be dependent upon a leadership which cannot readily be found in any seminary and in any graduating class. Those of us who stand in these institutional churches dislike to be set apart from the rest of our brethren as being peculiar and eccentric. We devoutly hope that the special work in which we are engaged is not so unique as to discourage others from attempting it. It is perhaps due to misunderstandings of this kind concerning the preparations necessary for such work that so many fields have been waiting long for the right men to fill them. Of course there must be a certain natural fitness for the work. No man who is averse to organization should attempt it. The thing, however, which is most needed, and which, in my experience with young men, I have thus far found it most difficult to discover and develop, is a comprehension of what seems to me to be the full, rounded conception of the Institutional Church. When the subject is more clearly understood by the multitude of earnest young men who are seeking a profession, and when our theological seminaries give as large a place in their curriculums to practical Christianity as they now give to systematic theology and homiletics, there will be no lack of leaders in the new movement.

As to the objection that there is too much machinery, it may be said that one great lack of the churches is that of system and

organization. If there were a more definite aim and more systematic effort, there would be greater spiritual life. Things are often left to run themselves, and they often run off the track or not at all. Intelligent business men, who are masters of the intricate machinery of trade and industry, and strict even to scrupulosity in their business transactions, often become parties to disorderly methods in church affairs, which, if employed by a neighbor in the commercial world, would condemn him to the pillory of their ridicule and contempt. The more beautiful the tapestry the more delicate and intricate must be the machinery. The fabric of a perfected humanity can be woven in no bungling loom. We live in an age of wheels, ay, of wheels within wheels, the swift revolutions of which are more dazing than the vision which Ezekiel saw. What is needed in the church, is not less machinery, but more steam; not fewer wheels, but more of the "living creature" within.

This, perhaps, is the best answer that can be given to the last objection concerning the material and secular phases of this kind of church work. It is true that this phase of work deals with material interests and secular means; but it is taken for granted that back of all, and working through all, is the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit; and that the church should aim first and always to bring the individual soul into vital contact with that Spirit. In one sense the Institutional Church is secularizing religion; that is, it is tending to make religion an everyday affair, a spirit which affects the whole man every day in the week rather than a spirit which affects a part of the man but one day in the week. The secularizing of religion in this sense means the millennium, and to this end every true church is working. Much of the talk about secularizing religion has grown out of that ecclesiasticism which assumes that religion is a thing which is confined to a certain conventional organization called a church rather than an all-pervasive spirit in the hearts of the people which comes and goes through the church-doors as the people come and go. A church is the people. It is the men and women who have to live, and breathe, and eat, not only on Sunday, but on all the rest of the week. It is the people who have to earn a living under all circumstances which go to make up this busy, workaday world. To ask whether religion is secularized by the church which employs secular methods is as absurd as to ask

whether it is secularized by the Christian who engages every day of the week in ordinary business duties.

The Incarnation was the secularization of divinity. It was God putting himself into the every-day world, taking the fleshly form, and mingling every day of the week with publicans and sinners, with artisans, and doctors, and lawyers, with the common people of the city and country. Whether the material shall be exalted at the expense of the spiritual depends upon the strength and quality of the spiritual. Religion pure and undefiled is not that which remains intact only so long as it is not in contact with the world; but it is that which keeps unspotted in the dust and din of life. Its virtue depends not upon the coddling of the nunnery, nor upon the sanctity of ecclesiastical surroundings. It calls nothing common or unclean which concerns the betterment of humanity; but, if need be, it can shake the walls of Jericho with a ram's horn, open blind eyes with clay, and use the waters of the turbid Jordan to cleanse and cure. If that which was designed to be the only moral antiseptic in a world of sinners has by contact with material things so lost its distinguishing qualities as to be known only by its original trade-mark, then indeed it is good for nothing but to be cast forth and trodden under foot of man. He is a weak Christian who cannot eat to the glory of God, but who perforce through his material appetite becomes a glutton. That is a weak church, a weak Christianity, which cannot sanctify a secular method to a spiritual end without itself becoming despiritualized in the attempt. Such a Christianity can hardly hope to influence the every-day life of this busy age, nor can it hope to possess and transform the world.

THE INNER MISSION OF GERMANY.

By Rev. George U. Wenner, D.D., of New York.

In its present form the Inner Mission of Germany is not yet fifty years old. Its intense spirit and its extensive work make it one of the most important spiritual and social factors of the age. Its name has led many to suppose that it is the German equivalent of the American Home and City Missions. But, while the Inner Mission may include these to some extent, its purpose is narrower, its field is wider. Including in its scope an extensive and varied system of charity, it is often regarded as a kind of humanitarian work. But whatever philanthropic work it does is only subordinate, is not its ultimate purpose. Indeed the multiplicity of its labors and the wide range of its efforts make it difficult sometimes to distinguish its real nature or to define its exact purpose. For this reason it has not always been rightly understood, and has sometimes suffered opposition not only from the foes but also from the friends of the kingdom of God.

While it is not easy to present a comprehensive view of this subject within the limits of a brief paper, I hope to do so with some degree of clearness by considering: (1) the antecedents of the Inner Mission; (2) its aim; (3) its agencies; (4) its relation to the church; and (5) its significance.

1. *Its Antecedents.*—While the form of the Inner Mission is new, its ideas are as old as Christianity. It is a resumption of the ever-recurring conflict with heathenism. When heathenism was conquered, the churches had rest. When the churches rested, heathenism revived. When heathenism revived, the conflict was again renewed, each age in a different form. Thus the Reformation of the sixteenth century was a conspicuous form of the Inner Mission. But then the churches rested, satisfied with their victory along doctrinal lines. The field of practical Christianity was neglected. Conditions arose that fostered this neglect. The Thirty Years' War paralyzed the resources of the church. After

the Peace of Westphalia a new heathenism threatened the land. With pietism the conflict of practical Christianity assumed a new shape. It aimed to promote personal piety. But it failed to affect society as a whole. Nevertheless, it awakened forces which have been distinctly felt through successive generations to the present time. Its relation to the work of the Inner Mission is not hard to trace. Francke's Orphan Asylum was the child of pietism, and was the first in the line of succession of those interesting movements of practical Christianity which distinguished the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

All over the land were scattered those who nourished the Christian life in their own hearts and families and were laboring in behalf of some cause of the kingdom of God. Now it was the Orphan House at Halle; again it was Egede's Mission in Greenland, or Schwartz's in far-off Tranquebar. They were known as the *Stillen im Lande*, and they bore a full share of the reproach of Christ. In the year 1779, Samuel Urlsperger, the Senior of Augsburg, made long journeys for the purpose of bringing these scattered Christians into closer communication with each other. The result was the formation of a society known as "The German Society for the Promotion of Pure Doctrine and True Piety," afterwards simply "The Christianity Society." Its objects included many of those of the modern Inner Mission, such as the care of the sick and the poor, the spread of Christian literature, itinerant preaching, and the care of evangelical families living in Roman Catholic countries. Besides these, it also took up the work of foreign missions. From this society sprang the Basel Mission House, Zeller's Refuge at Beuggen, and many other institutions of a similar character. About the same time Pastor Oberlin began his remarkable work in Steinthal, promoting not only the spiritual but also the temporal welfare of his people.

The early years of the nineteenth century witnessed a multitude of similar movements, such as Pestalozzi's at Stanz, Falk's at Weimar, Baron von Kottwitz's in Berlin, Count Recke's at Overdyk, and Amalie Sieveking's in Hamburg, down to 1833 and 1836, the years of Wichern's and Fliedner's epoch-making beginnings in Hamburg and in Kaiserswerth.

Many of these were merely insignificant attempts. Pestalozzi's Refuge for children was a complete failure. He said of himself that he possessed an "incomparable incapacity for organization."

But we can see their importance now. They were symptoms of the growing life, and were foundations of a work that would endure.

The characteristic of all these movements was their private character, their independence of church aid and support. Their promoters made no great effort to convert the world or to revive the church. They rather withdrew into small circles, and in humble ways endeavored to heal some of the evils around them. It was practical Christianity, working through individuals and small societies, forming a bond of union among its friends, and preparing them for a larger work that was before them.

It is important to bear in mind these apparently insignificant beginnings if we would understand the character of the movement which afterward produced the Inner Mission. They were its spiritual ancestors.

In this connection it is also important to note the conditions under which it came into being. Politically, Germany was a dismembered country. Its sixty or more ruling princes and princelets had no common interest in the welfare of the Fatherland. Its economic condition may be imagined when we remember that the country had been swept and desolated by the Napoleonic wars. Its moral structure was only saved from bankruptcy by the heritage of Christianity that had come down from the Fathers. Its leaders in literature and philosophy were not friends of the Nazarene. Religion itself had lost its power over the people. The revival that followed the events of 1813 failed to affect the people as a whole. The cultured classes as a rule had decided that the faith of the Bible could not be reconciled with reason, and they rejected it. The masses did not hesitate long to follow their example and to translate into their own language and lives the result of a godless faith. The introduction of machinery and the spread of factories materially changed the social condition of the people. The cities were even at that time becoming the gathering-places of restless, revolutionary masses and the breeding-places of moral disease. In the city of Hamburg at least a tenth of the children of the age of fourteen were ignorant of the alphabet and had never been inside of a school. There were capital cities of Germany in which half of the children that were born were illegitimate. The poverty and crime resulting from such conditions were lamentable.

For such evils, culture, and society as it was, had no cure, because they could not understand the real cause. The church was hampered by reason of its alliance with the state. Only in the circles to which we have referred was there an appreciation of their true character, and a conviction of their danger and of the necessity of trying to heal them.

In the universities, too, a new life had awakened. Under Schleiermacher, Neander, Tholuck, and others of like spirit, there was developed a theology that found its centre in Christ and that summoned the students to a new life in his service. This growing life in many directions, and the conviction of the real meaning of the evils of the day, promoted a feeling of union in interests and responsibilities among believers, and prepared the way for united action.

In September, 1848, a church diet had been called at Wittenberg for the purpose of considering the important questions that were thrusting themselves upon the church and the conscience of Christians. Its chief aim was to bring about a federation of the churches of Germany, in order that, with united strength, they might confront the dangers that threatened them. Among its members was Johann Hinrich Wichern of Hamburg. For fifteen years he had carried on a remarkable work in reclaiming depraved youth, and he had established in the Rauhe Haus an institution that was already attracting the attention of the Christian world. He had made the consideration of the Inner Mission a condition of his attendance upon the diet, but the committee decided that it was not a subject of sufficient general importance, and therefore placed it at the end of an afternoon programme, to be taken up if time permitted. Early in the day, while speaking to another question, Wichern besought the diet not to overlook the subject of the Inner Mission, holding that it was the duty of the church to take that work in hand. So impressive were his words that by common consent the order of the day was changed, and the Inner Mission was taken up as the first subject in the afternoon. It was presented by Wichern himself, without preparation, except as his whole life had been a preparation for that hour. With a perfect command of the subject, a burning enthusiasm, a conviction of its tremendous importance, and an assurance of the victorious power of truth, he threw the weight of his consecrated personality into the

theme. When he had finished there was but one subject that could engage the attention of the conference. With that inspired address he had succeeded in placing the cause of the Inner Mission first upon every programme of the church's work. The Hamburg Candidat, who a few years before had taken three of the city's waifs into his thatched cottage in the suburbs, to live with them and to be a father to them, had in that hour become the apostle of a great cause, whose leadership thousands were ready to recognize.

His address started out by repudiating the idea that the Inner Mission had simply to do with the poor and the ignorant. It was equally a duty to rescue the rich, the prominent, the people of the highest culture, in so far as they were alienated from the gospel. Within the borders of Christian society convictions and forms of life had arisen that were antichristian, heathenish. He alluded to the travelling apprentices, the evangelical people living in scattered communities in Roman Catholic countries, remote from opportunities of hearing the gospel, to the diabolical influence of societies in border lands, whose avowed purpose was to instil into the hearts of young men a hatred of God. He spoke of the railroad laborers and, above all, of the growing mass of proletarians in the great cities who were not reached by the word of God and the influences of Christian people. He pointed to the prisons and asked who ever had compassion on their inmates or strove to lead them to a better life when they were discharged. The duty to help in all these lines undoubtedly rested with the church. He then reminded the conference that, without any aid from the church, a network of Christian effort was already spread over the land, of which the official organs of the church seemed to be ignorant. He referred to the work of Christian women in hospitals, and the care of children, to the refuges for depraved youth, etc. He showed how the principles of the church required her assumption of this work. The universal priesthood of believers was her doctrine, the work of mercy was her duty. What was needed was a regeneration of the inmost conditions of state, of church, of society.

It was an improvised address, hence only a sketch of it has been preserved. But we may judge of its power by its effects. All other subjects were laid aside and the conference enthusiastically acknowledged the supreme importance of the subject.

The immediate result was the appointment of the Central Committee for the Inner Mission. Wichern was requested to prepare a statement of the scope of the work, and his book, which appeared in the spring of 1849, became, as it were, the programme of the new movement. Under the direction of the committee, the first congress of the Inner Mission was held in the fall of 1849. Its meetings continue to be held to the present time, and are occasions of intense interest and spiritual fervor. From that time onward the Inner Mission became a subject which no branch of Christian literature could ignore. Church history wrote new chapters, or was compelled to revise the old. Practical theologies were written from the standpoint of the Inner Mission. It became a watchword that summoned great gatherings of people to its congresses. It awakened new fountains of life and blessing ver all the land. The dangers that threatened Christianity in Germany called forth a fulness of Christian life and work that reminds us of the days of the apostles and the early church.

2. *Its Aim.*—The Inner Mission does not aim to be a substitute for the church. The ordinary care of souls in communities where the ministry of the church is equal to its work does not come within the scope of the Inner Mission.

Nor is it simply the exercise of charity. This is a common Christian duty, recognized from the beginning and finding appropriate expression in all ages of the church's history. In establishing effective institutions of charity and supplying noble examples of self-sacrifice, the communion to which Vincent de Paul belonged anticipated the Inner Mission by more than a century. There are works of philanthropy that are inspired and sustained by a spirit that is not alien to Christianity. But none of these belong to the Inner Mission.

When the name first came to be used, it was meant as a watchword for all who could help to contend against the dechristianization of Germany. It was a call to Christians to do Christian work. The threatening dangers were in places not reached by the official organs of the church. The neglected masses and their physical needs appealed for help. Toward these directions, therefore, the Inner Mission turned its attention, doing that which the church had left undone. But while its work thus became by force of circumstances, to a large extent, charitable in its character, its aim

went further. It well knew that the evils with which it contended were merely symptoms, and that nothing but the gospel could heal the disease. Its aim was therefore not merely philanthropic, it was philopsychic. Its motto was that of Elizabeth Fry: "The soul of charity is charity to the soul."

But it sought not only to reach the individual soul, it aimed to mould society. It recognized the fact that there was an anti-Christian spirit in society itself that must be met and overcome. Its purpose was to restore the lapsed masses to a living relation to the church. This social aim found expression in the programme and work of the Inner Mission at its first organization, and is one of the marked features of the movement.

Like the streams that flow down the mountains are its many forms of work, but they all come together at last in two principal channels:

(1) In a fuller proclamation of the gospel.

(2) In works of charity and love.

The first includes city missions, diaspora, missions among seamen, emigrants, and the roving classes, the training of laymen as deacons and evangelists, the formation of Sunday-schools, the circulation of Bibles and a Christian literature, the establishment of institutions of learning, lectureships and associations for the purpose of promoting a Christian public opinion, and all other means by which the remotest classes might be reached and moved by Christian truth and sentiment.

The second includes all means by which Christians may help their fellow-men in the name of Him who not only preached the word of life, but who went about doing good, himself bearing their infirmities and healing their diseases.

3. *Its Agencies.*—Even if the church has not been hampered by its connection with the state, the ordinary means were plainly inadequate to the demand. A torrent of evil threatened church and society. It was necessary to oppose it with a mass of Christian forces.

In spite of her doctrine of the universal priesthood, the evangelical church was desperately poor in her ministry as compared with the Roman Catholic communion. The Roman Catholics had a complex and highly-developed organization, with its major and minor orders of the ministry and their subdivisions, besides a host of orders and societies both of men and women upon whose

members it could draw for work to be done. The evangelical church, on the contrary, with practically but one minister in the parish, one worker in a vast field, was helpless when a crisis came.

The Inner Mission at once emphasized the doctrine of the universal priesthood, and on the strength of this doctrine summoned the whole body of believers to the conflict. It was an appeal for volunteers to supplement the work of the regular army.

The appeal was not made in vain. From all ranks and conditions there came a ready and joyful response. In the house of Court Preacher Stoecker in Berlin there used to meet on Saturday evening a concourse of people from widely-distinct stations in life. There were servant-girls and noble dames, officers of the civil service, students and laborers. They came to get some six thousand copies of a printed sermon which they distributed on Sunday among cabmen, policemen, firemen, street-sweepers, and others whose work deprived them of Sabbath privileges. On the following Saturday they met again to compare experiences and to renew their work.

The question of organizing the forces that had been obtained had to be considered. Bunsen, Loehe, and others, proceeding upon the theory that the church was the only legitimate agent for such work, desired to connect them with the church in the form of a regular diaconate. But the practical view of Wichern prevailed, and the form of Christian effort by means of free associations, which, as we have seen, had already become hereditary, prevailed. It is, however, becoming more and more the policy to place an ordained minister at the head of these associations.

It was not long before the necessity of having trained workers was felt. In the practical development of the work voluntary aid, occasionally given, important and necessary as it was, had its limits of usefulness. From this need there sprang the institutions for the training of brothers or deacons, deaconesses and teachers.

The development of the work naturally demanded the formation of general associations and conferences for the purpose of regulating the work, and for mutual aid and encouragement. Most of these are national or provincial. According to a late report there 38 of these. Of brother-houses, or institutions for

the education of deacons, there are 15. The most important of these is the Rauhe Haus near Hamburg. Of deaconess houses there are 73. The number of deaconesses in 1891 was 8478. The annual rate of increase is nearly 7 per cent. A late directory gives the names of hundreds of associations laboring in the interest of the Inner Mission, and yet it aims to give only the names of the principal ones. Through it, however, we may obtain a glimpse into the character of the work. The Inner Mission carries the children of the poor into its cribs, its nurseries, and its Christian kindergartens. In 250 houses of refuge it gathers neglected and depraved youth under Christian influences. There are 51 societies whose object is to place such children in Christian families. It enters the prisons and opens a door of hope to the criminal. While the percentage of relapses in the Prussian prisons is 75, that of the Moabit in Berlin, which is under the care of Wichern's Brothers, was only 21. It bends over the lowest of the fallen, and bids the magdalen and the drunkard not to despair. In every city it has its *Herberge zur Heimat*, its cheerful homes for young men, where meals and lodgings for several days may be obtained at a nominal price. There are 184 of these homes for young men and 44 for young women, servants, and working-girls. For the tramp problem it has found a solution in the successful colonies of Wilhelmsdorf and elsewhere. In its hospitals more than 500,000 patients were cared for last year by the deaconesses, who on three thousand stations are working without pay, asking no other reward than the privilege of laboring for Christ and his church. It has established associations for the promotion of Christian art and church song. The Church Song Society numbers 13 national or general societies representing 600 local organizations. Twenty-two book and tract societies and 26 Bible societies represent some of the organized efforts for the spread of Christian literature. There are 12 associations for the promotion of theological study and the training of young men for the ministry. Its Gustavus Adolphus Society sends out itinerant preachers to the diaspora, the scattered and neglected families, and supports churches and schools in all German lands where the state church fails to care for the people.

This does not include the regular religious work of church and state, or the philanthropic institutions not in accord with the Inner Mission. It is only the volunteer work of Christians, sup-

plemental to the regular work of the church. Nor does it include the great foreign missionary societies, which, while they do not report financial figures that can compare with those of their wealthier sisters in England and America, have yielded results that cannot be overlooked.

One is impressed with the germinal character of the work and the profusion of growth that has sprung up from the seed that has been scattered. Pastor Schaefer, of Altona, in preparing the statistics, declares that the effect upon him has been overwhelming. In enumerating only the more important undertakings of the Inner Mission, he has had to consider not merely hundreds but thousands. It is as if one were entering a forest where not only the lofty trees spread out their branches, but where the underbrush also fills all the space below. It is like a fruitful garden where all things grow that a rich soil and the blessing of God can produce.

4. *Relation to the Church.*—In reality the Inner Mission is the mission of the church. The work it does the church acknowledges to be properly its own. The active members of the Inner Mission are none other than living members of the church.

But we must remember that by "church" in Germany is understood a definite organization, with a distinct polity, and a fixed relation to the state. The Inner Mission grew up outside of this organization, independent of its control, and in response to needs which the church was unable to meet.

At first the church regarded the Inner Mission with suspicion. The lay work of the latter was an encroachment on the prerogatives of the ministerial office. Confessional churches feared a compromise of the truth in that union of effort among Christians which the Inner Mission promoted. The very strength of the organization of the Inner Mission threatened to make it a substitute for that society which owed its authority to divine appointment.

On the other hand, the Inner Mission had reason to complain of the church. Was it not while its ministers slept that the tares had been sown, that the evils the Inner Mission was combating had sprung up? Was it not because of the heresy of its teachers and the indolence and self-love of its members that conditions of

heathenism were prevailing? Indeed, the reformation of the church was one of the objects of the Inner Mission.

So the question of their mutual relation became a burning one. But the perils that threatened Christianity compelled a peaceful solution.

To the credit of the Inner Mission it must be said that it has ever claimed to be only a handmaiden of the church. It is not to be a substitute for the church, but an exposition of its life. It generally strove to place itself in organic connection with the church. Wichern's Rauhe Haus belonged to the parish of Horn. The General Conference of Deaconess Houses resolved that their work should be done as far as possible in connection with the regular parish work. The City Mission of Berlin recognizes the church authorities and is recognized by them. The confession of the church is the confession of the Inner Mission. And since the aim of the Inner Mission is the restoration of lasped members to the church, its work must be auxiliary to the church. It derives its inspiration from Christian faith and love; there can therefore be no reason to doubt its loyalty to the church. The Inner Mission could not get along without the church.

On the other hand, the church could not get along without the Inner Mission. There were parishes in Berlin where there was but one minister for from ten to twenty thousand adults. A friendly relation was established, and it was not long before the indissoluble connection between the two was recognized. While a forced and premature union would be unwise, only injuring the usefulness of both, a practical and real connection has been established in various ways.

The church has largely adopted the methods of the Inner Mission. It employs the Inner Mission helpers. It has enlarged its own diaconate both of men and of women at the suggestion of the Inner Mission work. It sends official representatives to the congresses of the Inner Mission. It authorizes general collections for the purpose of the Inner Mission. At the universities the professors of ethics and practical theology devote much attention to the subject in their lectures to the students. In some countries and provinces the church has accepted the general supervision of the work of the Inner Mission without attempting to control it. In its official organs and deliverances it recognizes the legitimacy and importance of its aims. In the matter of pen-

sions the ordained ministers of the Inner Mission receive the same recognition as the ministers of the church. But above all, there is also a personal union. The leading ministers in the church take an active part in the work of the Inner Mission. Thus a union has been formed which is a bond but not a fetter. At the present time there is but little friction. The work of the church and that of the Inner Mission are practically one.

The importance of such a result may be measured if we imagine all the similar works of charity and benevolence in America that are now carried on independently, as working on the lines and in the spirit of the evangelical church.

5. *The Significance of the Movement.*—1. The Inner Mission is evidence of a religious life. German Christianity may have other forms, but it is certain that a tree that bears such fruits cannot be dead. It is a mistake to regard the Inner Mission as simply a network of institutions and associations. It is rather the expression of a spiritual life, the aggregation of consecrated Christian personalities.

2. It is a demonstration of the communion of saints. Disclaiming unionism, it has nevertheless effected a true union among its members. Reformed and Lutherans, in their most confessional representatives, have met here on common ground, have learned to love and respect each other, and to illustrate the fact that Christianity is something more than the distinctive doctrines of each.

3. It means an immense addition to the ranks of the church's ministry, by summoning all Christians, each according to his gift, to serve in the ranks of Christ's army.

4. It illustrates the importance of organization. Marching in separate columns, it strikes with united force. Covering all German lands, and apparently devoted to many different objects, its members are in perfect accord and touch with each other, praying and working for but one object, the victory of Christ and his church over the powers of evil that appear.

A practical nation like America may have but little to learn from Germany in the field of methods. But there is a suggestion of far-reaching importance in the fact that the efforts of the Inner Mission do not stop with the healing of physical evils. These are only the foundation for its real work. The multiplicity of efforts that are made in our land to help and uplift humanity is a matter

of profound thankfulness. But these works of charity and benevolence cannot do their best work unless they are baptized and brought into the church.

The church is sometimes charged with being indifferent to the questions that affect the welfare of society. It is doubtless true that in her official garb she has not gone everywhere where her Master would have led. It may be that her traditional methods fail to meet the wants of those who most need her care. But even if such were the case, her daughter, the Inner Mission, has faithfully represented her among the unreached masses and classes. There are no evils of society that she has not striven to heal, no questions affecting its welfare that she does not endeavor to answer.

In these days the perils that threaten us seem to come mainly from the uncertainty of economic and social relations. Amid all the confusion of conflict between the existing order of things and new theories of society the Inner Mission shows that the deepest foundations of social well-being are to be found in the teachings of Christ. "Its highest aim is that the church may again become the conscience of the nation not only for its spiritual life but for its economic and social life as well." *

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* From a recent report of the Central Committee.

THE INNER MISSION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By President John B. Paton, D.D., of the Congregational Institute, Nottingham, England.

It is exactly twenty years ago to-day, September 11, since I read a paper in Nottingham on "The Inner Mission of Germany and its Lessons to us." The title "Inner Mission of the Church" had very profoundly impressed me, as setting forth, in contrast to the *foreign* or *outer* mission of the church, its mission *within* the land in which it is planted, and as bringing into vivid relief and definite vision the immediate and practical work of the church among all the people of that land. The object of the Inner Mission, accordingly, is that the country the church thus occupies shall become, not nominally but in reality, a part of *Christendom* in which the institutions and usages of society and the condition of the people harmonize with the righteous will of God. It further suggests a combination of Christian agencies directed to this end—a union of Christian churches that consciously, and with definite aim, seek to fulfil the command and inspiration of their faith, and by union encourage and sustain each other in their great undertaking.

It will be seen, therefore, that the phrase "Inner Mission" is taken by me, in a general sense, to denote the social redemptive work of the church of Christ, by the diffusion of those regenerative influences which the living Spirit of Christ, in his grace and truth, imparts to it for the well-being of society; and in a more specific sense, to denote a union of Christian churches, the object of which is to give consistency, higher intelligence, and mightier effect to their separate and conjoint labors for the good of the people.

The convictions which gave birth to this movement in Germany, and which must continue to be its inspiration everywhere, are that they who believe in Jesus Christ as their divine Lord and Redeemer acknowledge the absolute authority of his law

as revealed in his example and precepts, and are constrained by his measureless love to the devotion of obedience to him. Further, that the Lord Jesus Christ summons his believers to be the witnesses of his redeeming truth and love by their example and their willing sacrifice to promote the good of men ; and that they should unite to confess the Lord Jesus Christ as the Savior of men from every form of evil, and to prove that he is such by working under his leadership for the removal of every evil from society, so that all men may be blessed in him, and "confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father." These sentiments have always been and are still professed by the universal church of Christ. The object of the Inner Mission, wherever it is formed, will be to give clearer utterance and manifestation to these sentiments, and to make them operative in revealing the true nature of the Christian religion by its regenerative influence in society, and the true unity of Christian believers, who, however they may differ, are ONE in their obedience to Christ and their service to men.

The four principles which underlie the Inner Mission, and which give meaning and urgency to it, are these :

First. The church is the body of Christ, in which he lives to work out his own most blessed ministry of grace and healing upon earth: all his divine compassions and energies flow through it to this sorrowing evil world. Shall not his body, the church (i.e., the union and fellowship of all who draw their life from him, and are baptized into him, and have his Spirit), now do the "greater works" of mercy which he promised that his disciples should hereafter accomplish in his name ? *Secondly.* It is in this mission that Christians of all denominations can at once unite without any sacrifice or compromise of opinion or usage, and thus show forth their oneness in Christ to the world. Such manifest and practical unity is the sign which will lead the world to know that he is the Anointed, the Sent of the Father for the world's redemption; and experience has shown that if Christian men and women only are brought together, and know one another in him and in his service, they are most assuredly drawn into blessed concord and unity of faith and love. *Thirdly.* Here in this mission there are infinite varieties of service for Christ, practical and real, in which each member of his body can take part, and thus have their grace developed, their spiritual feeling and purpose exercised in spirit-

ual activities and embodied in spiritual habit. All of them will then be ennobled, and thrilled with purest joy, by sharing with their Lord in a world's redemption; for men become great and are greatly happy only as they are fired with a great idea, and work to carry it out in a great fellowship and under a great leader. This I think should be the first care of the church—to provide some real, loving, redeeming service, humble and simple, for many, to be done for Christ, in doing which they will become strong and fit for higher service. *Fourthly.* This need of the church for her own members is the great need of the world. To see Christ living in his body everywhere as of old, healing all manner of diseases, bearing the sickness and sorrow of the world, and, by his grace in his members, bringing comfort and saving health to those whose need is sore, as was that of the afflicted in Galilee when he walked through its highways and byways. Mr. John Morley once said to me, "Show us that evidence of your faith, and the world will need no other apologetic." The answer Jesus sent to John Baptist is the answer we must still carry to all who question us if he be the Messiah.

The paper which I read twenty years ago set forth these thoughts, and showed how Dr. Wichern, in founding the Inner Mission of Germany, had endeavored to give them practical form and effective application in his own country. I then further showed how the same principles might and should inspire a similar movement in England. At the close of the meeting the following resolution, proposed by the Rev. Canon Morse, vicar of St. Mary's Church, Nottingham, was adopted unanimously: "That a union, to be called the Inner Mission, be formed in the town, consisting of the representatives of all existing Christian charities and Christian societies working for social ends, and of the representatives of the church of Christ in this town. Its object shall be: first, to strengthen by such union these several Christian societies and charities, to make them acquainted with each other's work, and to manifest the unity of the Christian spirit that inspires them all; secondly, to collate and study facts connected with the physical, moral, and social condition of the town, and to impress on the public mind the practical relation and duty of the Christian church with respect to these facts; thirdly, to take counsel and action with the civil agencies of the town on matters with which they are connected, and which affect the social well-being of

the people; fourthly, to incite and direct individual and church labors, so as to relieve distress and save from vice, and to inspire and regulate all social institutions with a Christian spirit; fifthly, where existing agencies and individual or separate church action do not meet any special or urgent wants of the town, to institute and conduct such agencies as shall meet them; and, sixthly and lastly, to exhibit by such combined action for the well-being of the people the reality of Christian unity, and the social redemption that is effected by Christian love."

I further indicated in my paper how, whilst local or district unions of the Inner Mission might be formed in different towns or in rural districts, these should all be united in a central committee consisting of leading representatives of every branch of the church, so that the social work of the church everywhere might be done systematically and under the guidance of the highest wisdom of the church. It was felt that the leaders of the church of Christ must unite in the study of the great social problem with which they deal, so that all sections of the church and their members in all localities may work most efficiently and surely to secure the end sought without marring each other's work. In this great service of the Inner Mission of the church the widest outlook, the most accurate information, and the clearest and most authoritative guidance which can be obtained and given by the highest spiritual statesmanship are necessary.

Soon after the committee appointed at this meeting to carry out the resolution had begun its operations I saw that the time was not yet ripe for this great national movement in England, and that much needed to be done in preparatory propaganda in order to accomplish it in the future. This propaganda has been undertaken in many directions, and many tentative efforts, which are partial fulfillments of the great work of the Inner Mission, have been begun. I propose now briefly to give an account of these. I distinguish three great divisions: First, where a union of all the branches of Christ's Church has been contemplated and desired and has been in part fulfilled. Second, where union among free evangelical churches has been effected. Third, where large civic unions have been established, not professedly Christian, but wholly inspired by Christian sympathy and purpose, and, to a very large extent, organized and conducted by Christian men—representatives of all Christian churches.

1. A conference was held, a few years back, between leading representatives of the English Church and of Congregational churches in England, in order to consider the great beliefs held by all of them in common, and the beliefs which distinguished them and, in a manner, separated them. At the conclusion of a two years' conference, which was conducted with a remarkable spirit of prayerful and loving amity, its results were published, and one conclusion to which the conference was led was strongly insisted upon, namely, that for the present, especially as a means of developing greater mutual acquaintance and fuller concord amongst Christian men of different names, there should be immediate united action in every department of social work in which the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of redeeming love can lessen or destroy the great evils of our time. As the immediate consequence of this conclusion and appeal there was formed a "Christian Union for Promoting International Concord," of which the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Westcott, is chairman, and which consists of representatives of all the Christian churches. The object of this union is to influence unitedly all branches of Christ's church to seek for and to promote the concord and brotherhood of all nations, so that all nations may learn not only the lesson of peace but of that divine relation of helpfulness and unity to which they are called as members of the one great body of redeemed humanity.

2. The House of Laymen for the province of Canterbury appointed a committee on April 30, 1891, under the following resolutions:

i. "That a committee be appointed to consider and report by what methods the investigation and removal of poverty, and the suggestion and supply of work, may be made most effective.

ii. "That it be an instruction to the committee to make inquiries as to the methods by which Christians of all denominations may co-operate in this work, so as to bring the whole power of Christianity to bear upon the social improvement of the people."

Under this second resolution the committee made the following report:

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN CHRISTIANS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS.

"Your committee proceed to report upon the second of the resolutions of the House, viz., 'the methods by which the co-operation of Christians of all denominations may be secured in this work so as to bring the whole power of Christianity to bear upon the social improvement of the people.'

"Your committee are satisfied of the desirableness of such co-operation, and earnestly hope that some means may be found in the near future to lift charity out of the region of controversy of every kind. So long as the good object of relieving poverty and diminishing pauperism is sought to be carried out on the low ground of party politics or religious proselytism, the work is sure to fail. Combination from the highest motive is essential, and an endeavor should be made to raise our almsgiving to a higher level, so as to prevent its pauperizing the people, and thereby increasing the evils to which it is our desire to put an end.

"Your committee have been fortunate enough to meet with an instance where this co-operation is now being successfully carried out, viz., the parish of All Saints, Notting Hill. Attention was drawn to the following points:

"'(1) The Executive Committee is composed of representatives of the Church of England, Roman Catholics, Jews, and every dissenting body within the district in which it works. There has not been a single case of friction during the time the "Friendly Helpers' Society" has been at work, thus proving that it is possible for all religious denominations to co-operate in this work.

"'(2) The secretary of the "Kensington Friendly Workers" asks the various denominations to supply him every week with particulars of applications made to him. All particulars of every case are entered in a book, which is kept at the office of the "Friendly Workers' Society," and may be inspected by the authorized representatives of any denomination. By this means we believe that we have entirely stopped the overlapping of charity in this neighborhood. We discovered by means of this organization that some people had been receiving quite a comfortable little pension in the form of charity from various denominations.'"

3. Earl Nelson, who was the chairman of the Langham Street conference and a "leading member" of the House of Laymen, wrote an article on Christian Union in "The Contemporary Review" for February 1889, in which, referring to the many social evils which are threatening to overwhelm us, he says: "(1) There is no doubt that, in the present divided state of Christendom, the religious zeal stimulated by these very divisions has taken a *selfish* and *unloving* turn. We take more interest in our own individual salvation and in the success of the church or denomination to which we belong than in the benefit of our fellows, and in the extension of the full flow of Christian benevolences, which, when rightly used, have an unbounded power for removing all social evils. (2) All Christians would, I believe, allow that it is a duty to consider, in the light of the principles, motives, and promises of the Faith, the problems of domestic, social, and national morality with a view to concerted action. The question arises how far our different views on church government and on the sacraments, which are very great, though capable of much modification, hinder this clear duty of united action against social evils. (3) There are some examples of successful co-operation which should encourage us to further exertions. In England under Wilberforce, churchmen and nonconformists did unite in putting down slavery, and now the pope is himself proposing a congress of the nations in order to combine to save Africa from its demoralizing influences. Then a great deal has been done by united action against the drink traffic, and the non-conformists, who began the work, have everywhere heartily welcomed the co-operation of the Church of England Temperance Society, though even here the demon of party has tried to set us apart by the over-zeal of the teetotaler against the partial abstainer. There is also some hope that we may join together with the Church of England Purity Society and the White Cross Army and other bodies in bringing Christian precept and example to check the growth and cruel consequences of the unlicensed indulgence of men's animal passions. Then there is the General Hospital Fund. In some districts nonconformists and churchmen have heartily joined in working the Charity Organization Society, which is of immense moment, not only for the relief of the real sufferer, but for putting an end to shams and impostures and checking the immoral practice of

making almsgiving a system of bribery for gaining so-called converts to particular denominations. But there is much more to be done, and what has been already done in these particulars might be done in a much more *statesmanlike and systematic way.* There are other works for good which are hindered from want of the *full outspoken witness* of Christendom upon them. The question of peace or war should not be left to the Quakers. The immoralities of trade can only be effectually dealt with by a united Christianity. The defence of the marriage laws, the security of sound religious education (even if obliged to be apart from denominational teaching), and the care of our criminal population after leaving prison, alike demand joint effort. (4) I would ask with Dr. Paton, of Nottingham, whether a council could not be formed in every town or district, and, at some future time, a central council to meet in London, of wise, sound, large-hearted men, chosen by each denomination as their representatives. These should meet regularly in friendly conference, studying earnestly, in the light of the revealed will of God, the intricate problems of society; exploring the accessible, but often remote and concealed, sources of human evil; and then guiding and systematizing the various institutions for good, so that they could more effectually forward the common work in a co-ordinate way, and without any jealous interferences with each other, and thus bring, in the different towns or districts where such councils are established, the full power of united Christian effort and example to deal more effectually with our many social evils."

4. In a letter which I sent two years ago to the Archbishop of Canterbury I referred to the passage in his letter to General Booth, when General Booth started his social scheme, in which the archbishop made the suggestion, and also gave the exhortation, that there should be a rallying of all Christian churches in this great service of Christ for the poorest and neediest of his brethren and ours; for only, the archbishop truly says, by such a union "could this service be effectively and continuously rendered." In my letter I appealed to him to take a leading part in forming the union which he himself desired, and to establish the Inner Mission of the church for England. I used then these words: "How many are working out parts of this plan of the Inner Mission with most Christlike fidelity and grace! Throughout all the centuries it has been so. But now I think it is felt as

never before that these parts must combine; that the one spirit which animates them all should be made manifest; that they should not overlap or collide as now they often do; that the great gap still left through which much of the good achieved slips away and is lost should be filled up; and that thus all of them should be harmonized into a comprehensive and wisely-adjusted plan, and be made infinitely more efficient by friendly co-operation and by the quickening inspiration of the union and wisdom gained for their special and combined direction from a vast and accumulating experience. I know well the difficulties that exist, but surely they are not too great for wise Christian statesmanship inspired by Christian charity to overcome. It would be a new era for our country, I will even say for our Christianity, when all the Christian redeeming forces of the land are seen arrayed together to uplift, to heal, and to save. That would be the true Apologetic."

In his reply to me the Archbishop says that he has the subject with which my letter deals constantly before him, and that he sympathizes with the object in view, though the wisest means to the end need much careful thought and foresight. He then informs me that he is taking steps in conjunction with those who have most experience in the matter to initiate some experiments with this view.

Other bishops also, like Bishop Moorhouse of Manchester, have expressed the desire that "all Christian communions should unite in social work which presses equally and urgently upon them all."

5. In some towns there is a conference of ministers of religion on social questions. The one in Liverpool is the best known, and the following are the first two paragraphs in the draft of its constitution: (1) Membership in the conference shall be open to all recognized ministers of religion in the district. (2) The object of the conference shall be to take counsel on questions affecting the social and moral life of the community, and, as occasion requires, to engage in common action, or for such public expression of opinion as may be thought desirable." The influence of this conference in Liverpool has been very great and has been the chief factor in one of the most significant municipal reforms or revolutions of recent years, and has led to the organization and very effective working of a Vigilance Committee which co-

operates with the Watch Committee of the city council in a strict administration of the licensing law and the conduct of public-houses, and in another social movement which has wonderfully promoted the cause of social purity in a city which had been greatly cursed with the great social evil.

In other places, however, the conference of ministers of religion, including Roman Catholics and Unitarians, has been confined to the administration of charity in the district represented by the conference, and to other practical philanthropic work.

6. I will classify under this head four special movements which deserve notice.

i. A Christian Conference founded by the Hon. and Rev. W. H. Freemantle, Canon of Canterbury. The following sentences set forth the objects of the conference: "(1) A conference shall be formed by those who desire mutual sympathy between various denominations. (2) That its general object shall be to enable Christians of all denominations to compare their different experiences with the view of making the life of the English people generally more Christian." This conference meets twice a year, and has published several valuable reports of these meetings.

ii. The Christian Kingdom Society, which thus describes its aim: "It is formed for the purpose of inculcating and putting in practice the plain practical principles of Christianity, by bringing together just and right-thinking men of all Christian parties, with the hope not only to encourage a steady progress in the paths of necessary and healthy reform, but also to be a safeguard against violent revolutionary changes. The only pledge required of members is that they shall endeavor to render faithful and loyal obedience to the spirit and methods and moral teaching of Christ. To emphasize this principle the name is given, 'The Christian Kingdom Society.'"

iii. There have been two efforts to unite together in a Prayer Union all who desire "the unity of Christian men and women, in order that by living in unity they may be witnesses of Christ, and that, further, the nation may prove its Christian character by reverencing God and his law in its national life." Lord Radstock has been the chief promoter of one of these movements, and has in this way united great numbers of Christian people. The Rev. Mr. Jones, vicar of St. Philip's Church, London, has promoted the other.

iv. There has also been a Christian Social Union formed in Oxford, which consists of representatives of the different branches of the Christian church. The object of this union is to seek the application of all redemptive influences springing from Christ and the ideal of Christ to the actual condition of human society. It endeavors thus to present and solve the great and terrible problems which the present condition of human society reveals when seen in the light of Christ's spirit and teaching. It is composed chiefly of students of the Christian faith and of political science, who will sustain and vindicate the truth that human society can find its deliverance, and will find it, in accordance with the measure of its loyalty to the spirit of Christ our King.

II.

A great proportion of the congregations of the Church of England have been accustomed to work together through their great societies in the promotion of social morality, the Church of England Temperance Society, the White Cross League, etc. It has been felt that, as a step toward a larger and catholic union between the free churches and the Church of England, it would be well for the free churches to organize themselves for the promotion of similar objects. Then likewise there are special interests affecting the free churches in common which they can maintain and promote only by an effective union. Consequently, during the last four or five years there has been in many of our large towns a union of the free or non-conformist churches holding the evangelical faith.

In London such a union has been formed under the title "London Nonconformist Council," and its object is thus stated: "The object of the council shall be to furnish opportunities to evangelical non-conformists for taking concerted action upon questions affecting their common interests or bearing upon the social, educational, moral, and religious welfare of the people." I send as an appendix to this report a circular which sets forth the constitution of this council and the objects which it seeks chiefly to effect. It will be seen that one of those objects is to federate the free churches in the different districts of London in local councils that shall be branches of the central body, and shall be organs through which it seeks to accomplish its stupendous task.

The other councils or unions of the free evangelical churches are upon a similar basis. I send, however, as a second appendix to this report a circular which has been very extensively circulated and which has very largely influenced and developed the formation of such unions in England. The name of the union which is here suggested is "Free Evangelic Church Union for the Promotion of Temperance, Social Morality, and other Christian Work." It represents churches and individuals who believe in the redemption of mankind through the grace and truth of Jesus Christ, the divine Lord and Savior of men. The objects of the union are thus stated:

(*a*) "To inform and influence public opinion in favor of temperance and social morality, and to sustain the action of our public authorities in maintaining these great public interests.

(*b*) "To give information, direction, and practical help to all congregations connected with the union in regard to temperance and social morality, and to assist in the formation of congregational activities for their advancement.

(*c*) "To urge all Christian churches to combined and separate local efforts in protective, preventive, and rescue work, associated with temperance and social morality.

(*d*) "To suggest methods of evangelistic and benevolent work in mission districts allotted to the special churches in the town or district, by which the poorest and neediest may know the love and salvation of God."

It will be seen that in connection with the work of these nonconformist unions one of the most important and pressing objects is to divide the city or town into districts, which shall be consigned to the several churches according to the most convenient arrangement that can be made, and that the strength of the whole union should support each church in its special work in its own district, whilst it provides agencies for doing whatever work can be best undertaken by the central union. I give as a third appendix to this report a letter which I wrote as explanatory of the four objects of the union as stated in the circular. In that letter I strongly urge that in each district there should be, as a centre of all the social work undertaken by the church, a fervid gospel mission. The evils which have to be dealt with in each district may, as I say, be arranged under four heads, Poverty, Ignorance, Sickness, Vice or Crime, and I have indi-

cated briefly in what ways these evils can be severally dealt with in the most efficient manner. In many cases where such a union has been formed of free evangelic churches they have adopted the plan so strongly recommended by the Evangelical Alliance of America, and have begun their united labors by visiting every house in the city or town. The visitors have been earnest Christian men and women who have sought to make their visit not only one of inquiry, but of warm Christian sympathy and appeal. In this way many who were lost to the Christian church have been reclaimed and brought again under its influence; and more precise information has been obtained, giving definite view as to the needs of every district and as to the remedial methods that should be adopted in it.

III.

Under this third head there has been during the last three years a very deep and powerful movement in some of our largest towns to unite together the whole of the better elements of the town or city in the work of moral and social reform. The two cities where most of this has been done are Glasgow and Manchester. In both of them the movement has had a distinctly Christian origin. In Glasgow a conference was summoned on December 4, 1891, which was the outcome of the Glasgow Presbytery Commission on the housing of the poor in relation to their social condition. The conference consisted of about ninety delegates from the city council, from the churches, from parochial boards, and from other corporations and societies of the city specially interested in the welfare of the poor. It was then proposed to form an "association," and the draft of the constitution, which was accepted, defines its name and explains its spirit and method very fully, and I make the following quotation from it:

"NAME. The name shall be: The Association for Improving the Condition of the People.

"OBJECT. The general object of the association shall be: To improve the material, moral, and social condition of the people.

"SPECIFIC AIMS. The specific aims of the association shall be:

"(1) To provide LABOR CENTRES in city and country where work shall be the necessary condition of all help to the able-

bodied, but where every destitute person shall have an opportunity of earning at least food and lodging.

"(2) To promote the BETTER HOUSING of the poor, so that the decent and industrious may have the chance of dwelling in healthy and quiet homes.

"(3) To secure WHOLESOME RECREATIONS for the people generally, but especially for those of slender means.

"(4) To agitate for REFORMATORY LEGISLATURE particularly with respect to petty offences and vagrancy.

"(5) To take up such OTHER SUBJECTS bearing on the well-being of the community as may from time to time arise and recommend themselves to the association.

"METHODS. The association shall in its methods of operation endeavor:

"(1) To enlighten the public mind as to the actual conditions of human life around us, and to rouse the citizens to grapple with the grave social problems thereby presented which demand a solution in the interests of the whole community.

"(2) To co-operate with the public authorities, and, as far as practicable, with all the existing agencies that seek to ameliorate the conditions of life among the people.

"(3) To carry out, in an effective and permanent manner, the specific aims set forth in this constitution, with power to deal with such other subjects as may arise in the prosecution of those aims, and to affiliate societies having a similar object in view."

Sub-committees have been appointed in connection with each of the five specific aims set forth in their constitution, and valuable reports have been already made by two or three of these committees.

In Manchester a similar association has been formed entitled "Social Questions Union." Its constitution shows that it also is penetrated by a thoroughly Christian spirit and aim. Its objects are thus stated: "To unite members of the various Christian communities and others for the purpose of studying and taking united action upon questions affecting the moral and social well-being of the community, such as drunkenness, gambling, social impurity, and the condition of the people, and for the promotion of purer and happier conditions of social life generally." The means which it proposes to employ are: "By obtaintaining all necessary information; by informing and developing

public opinion; by putting existing social laws into operation and promoting fresh legislature; and by co-operating with existing social organizations and, if need be, initiating others."

Smaller towns have followed the example of these great cities, and in some cases the title of "Civic Centre," which Mr. W. T. Stead recommended, has been adopted. In no case, however, has the title which Mr. Stead specially desired and pressed for adoption, namely, "Civic Church," been accepted. It has I think been felt universally, as Dr. Martineau expressed it, that "we must distinguish between the civic and the church arrangements in these matters. The civil power depends upon those agencies which the law itself can bring into being; it can order and forbid, but it does not do so unless it can enforce its orders. The power of religion appeals to agencies altogether beyond these limits, not to the hope and fear that can be administered by law. It rests on the voluntary elements of character, such as the inducement of habits, and the affections which can be influenced by the sympathetic appeal of one heart to another." Dr. Martineau also objects, even from his standpoint, to the association of non-Christian men and women with those who are Christian, in any association which can claim the title of "church." "Mr. Stead's proposal," he says, "implies taking in a number of those who do not recognize the authority of Christ and who are foreign to it. If we confer equal rights of election upon the whole parish (and equally if those rights be given to any large section of people not Christian), then those outsiders would supplant the Christian people, and Christians would throw themselves at the mercy of those who do not trust Christ."

I am glad that thus universally the public opinion resents the application of the word "church," with its Christian and religious connotation, to an association which is philanthropic and social but is not distinctively religious. I confess also that I regret very deeply that the large unions in Glasgow and Manchester, which are almost wholly composed of Christian men inspired with Christian faith and Christian aims, are not distinctively Christian in name; and that they invite the membership of others who are not Christian in faith or name. My regret arises from three sources.

1. I feel that in such unions where Christ's name is not duly confessed and honored, but where yet his spirit and the faith of his believers are the animating and guiding force of the whole

movement, he is not made known to the community and gratefully revered by it, as the great fountain-head of all the blessing that is falling upon it from him.

2. In association with men who have not the Christian faith we cannot honorably appeal to motives or use agencies which they do not approve. In all honorable fellowship of this kind we can only work upon that principle or belief which is acknowledged in common by all. In this case it is a noble humanitarianism and a civic patriotism, both of which are finee lements of virtue, but they lack wholly the inspiring and personal appeal that comes from the great example of the redeeming Lord and his sacrifice. I feel that nothing but the supernatural grace which he imparts will avail to overcome the sad and deep-rooted evils of human society, and it is in the strength and wisdom of that grace alone that Christian men can hope to conquer in their redemptive work for Christ and men.

3. There are special agencies and kinds of work which such a union is necessarily debarred from undertaking. Who can ever hope to recover the fallen prostitute, or to protect our working-girls from the depraving influences that surround them, without the sympathetic pity and the unfaltering purpose begotten of Christ's spirit? Who can hope to deal with the drunkard—to conduct wisely an orphanage, or a reformatory for our criminal youths, without the healing grace of Christ's spirit? Who can hope to do these things, and other redeeming service needed by the world, without the holy passions and patience of a divine redemption and life,—without the mighty compassion, the tenderness, and the self-devotion begotten of the teaching and the love of the Cross? I therefore very earnestly hope that erelong the Christian church in all its branches will unite to carry out her inner mission and accomplish the work she alone can accomplish by her redemptive ministries, in subduing the dark and menacing social evils of our time. By such a union of all Christian churches the Inner Mission will be directly established and its work fulfilled. Then, thus united, I trust Christian men and women will further gladly co-operate, whilst engaged in their distinctive work in the name and under the banner of Christ, with all their fellow-citizens in every philanthropic and social enterprise, and will thus effectually deal with those evils affecting each community, which can be dealt with by the common action of all well-disposed members

of the community. Indirectly the Inner Mission of the church will be powerfully aided by this wider civic organization, and the Christian church will thus directly and indirectly, by her own spiritual and redemptive social ministries and by inspiring the action of the whole community, hasten the time for which her ceaseless prayer is offered, when the Father's kingdom has come and his will is done on earth as in heaven.

SOCIOLOGICAL TRAINING OF THE MINISTRY.

By Rev. Graham Taylor, D.D., Professor of Christian Sociology, Chicago Theological Seminary.

The sociological movement in the life of to-day is born of God and the times. It owns no man as its father, no set of men as its leaders. It is a movement of life. Even its literature follows and does not lead, or clearly comprehend, or define its swift current of achievement. The Zeitgeist of no other age has found such visible tangible forms in which to manifest itself to its contemporaries, as the social structures of industrial, commercial, political, philanthropic, and religious life in which the new-born social consciousness of our day is incarnating itself.

The whole creation groans and travails in pain together with the birth of a new era. No one who has an eye to discern the signs of these times, an ear to catch the undertone of their mighty deep, a heart sensitive to the electric currents of earth, and air and sky, can be unconscious of the tremendous transition. Literature struggles to keep pace with life all in vain. The schools of thought and teaching have long since recognized the sway of those most dominant ideas and regnant words of the new order of things, heredity, environment, development, personality, social organism.

In no other world-movement has the church given quicker response or had more initial influence. The creative Spirit who broods over the face of the deep is bringing to its new birth the Christian consciousness of the old and only Kingdom. Of that dawning consciousness that the gospel of the Kingdom is to be realized on earth in the Christian reconstruction of human society, there is no more significant evidence than the introduction of sociological instruction and training to the schools of the church for the preparation of her ministry to the world.

In tracing the advent of this movement within the curriculum of theological study, it is worthy of notice that the discussions of social economics make their appearance in the seminary class-

room at the same time in which they begin to appear prominently in current periodical literature. The most diligent inquiry fails to discover in the teaching of the seminaries any trace of very specific attention to subjects within the domain of the social sciences prior to 1880. A careful search through the weekly journals and the monthly and quarterly reviews likewise fails to catalogue many important contributions to current discussion of social problems prior to the same date. None of the great societies for the scientific study and discussion of social phenomena antedate this year very far. The Journal of Social Science, containing the transactions of the American Association, dates back only to 1869. The National Conference of Charities and Correction claims 1874 as the birth year of its forerunner. The National Divorce Reform League was organized in 1882, although its founder and secretary had for ten years previously been prosecuting the sociological study of the family, and stimulating wide-spread interest among students in the scientific method of investigating and classifying the social phenomena. The American Economic Association originated in 1885, and the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1890.

The bureaus of labor statistics are of comparatively recent origin, the oldest of them in this or any other country having been established by the Massachusetts legislature in 1869. The scientific and the more popular periodicals of a sociological or economic nature are still later growths. The last edition of a standard popular encyclopædia, which has only recently been revised, refers to sociology as that "barbarous term" which was being introduced to the English language to denominate the science of society. The term "sociology" heads no single article in the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, and is referred to in its index only in connection with biographical data, or those articles on related and tributary sciences, which have, however, enriched all sociological literature.

The following facts regarding the introduction of sociological instruction to the teaching of the theological seminaries have been derived by correspondence with thirty-five of these institutions, including the largest and most representative divinity schools in the country.* Elective courses on the ethics of the

* The correspondence was for the most part conducted by the Rev. W. F. Blackman (since professor-elect at Yale Divinity School) in prepara-

social question began at Harvard Divinity School as early as 1880; at Andover Seminary in 1887 on social economics; at Yale Divinity School in 1892 on Christian social ethics. Hartford Seminary in 1888 was the first to introduce sociology into the prescribed course. The Chicago Theological Seminary was the first to establish a department exclusively devoted to Christian sociology in 1890. The Young Men's Christian Association Training School at Springfield, Mass., opened a course of study under an instructor of its own in 1893. The Divinity Schools of Yale and Chicago Universities have a professor of sociology under appointment, who begins the work of his department in 1894. Sociological study as a distinctly differentiated branch has been introduced into the regular prescribed course of five seminaries. Elective courses in specified lines of social science are offered in nine seminaries by professors in the dogmatic or practical departments. It is not to be forgotten that some sociological instruction is necessarily incidental to the teaching of both of these branches. Special attention to those aspects of these branches is reported to have been given in some cases for many years, and in others with increased emphasis within the last two or three years. Almost all the divinity schools related to, or in the vicinity of, universities or colleges afford their students at least the privilege of taking some of the sociological instruction offered by them. A more systematic relationship between these university and seminary courses is beginning to be realized at several of these educational centres, notably at Union Theological Seminary, New York, and at the Divinity Schools of Yale, and the University of Chicago.

As substitutes for confessedly inadequate provision, or as supplemental to instruction regularly afforded, several institutions provide lectures on sociological topics, ranging from occasional single lectures to annual lectureships.

Field work is a provision for sociological training out of which other means for instruction grew in many institutions, and which is recognized to be demanded by everything that is attempted in the class-room elsewhere. That department at Chicago Seminary was suggested and necessitated by the students' work on the city missionary fields. So were the courses at Hart-

tion of an article published in *Christian Thought* for April 1892. The replies to his inquiries, which were kindly placed at the writer's use, have been supplemented in many instances by later advices.

ford and several other seminaries, notably at Union in New York, which in 1887 led off in systematizing the city work as an educational adjunct to the seminary course.

The establishment of post-graduate fellowships in sociology was initiated in 1893 by the Church University Board of Regents of the Prostestant Episcopal Church, who offer their graduating classes a fellowship of the value of $750, with permission to study at any seat of learning at home or abroad. Previously-established fellowships have been assigned by other seminaries with increasing frequency to sociological lines of investigation.

Last of the provision for the sociological training of the ministry, but perhaps the most far-reaching of them all, is the Social Settlement. Andover Seminary is the first to add this invaluable and indispensable apparatus to its equipment, in founding the already well-known Andover House, Boston. The new department of Christian Sociology in Chicago Seminary has, through the generous courtesy of the women of the Hull House, been afforded all the advantages which that greatest object-lesson among the social settlements of the world can give to post-graduate residents. The men's settlement which they have established will provide "residence" for at least five post-graduate fellows of the department. Other settlements are being established in connection with city missionary work as fast as opportunity and resources will allow.

The late development of sociological science accounts for its recent advent into the church's training-schools for her old and original social service. Both are due to the lack of two causal conditions, one practical, the other pedagogical, upon which sociological development necessarily depends. The slow establishment of the independence of the individual had to be awaited before such society could exist as would be either capable of producing or worthy of possessing a science of its own existence. As a free and progressive society predicates personal freedom, so the consciousness of individual independence is a fundamental condition of any social consciousness adequate to develop a science of our interdependence. Man had to be emancipated from that ancient solidarity of the race in which he virtually lost self-consciousness, in which the child knew no rights the parent was bound to respect, the subject no existence apart from the community or the will of its sovereign, the man no individuality

that emerged from the mass. Without that very individualism, from the extremes of which the sociological movement is a natural and necessary reaction, sociology has not been, and could not be. For, as Dr. William T. Harris has well written, "Social life is the realization of ideal man in a far higher sense than the life of the mere individual realizes it. Thinking reason, a rational moral will, a religious culture in the soul, are not of the particular man, but they are the ideal of the species and denote the ascent of the individual into the species. This is not a loss of his individuality, but a deepening of individuality into personality, which is the unique phenomenon found in social science." The discovery of selfhood is the preliminary mission of Christianity, the partial fulfilment of which is but preparatory to the development and realization of the Kingdom, in which alone it finds its consummation. It had to demand, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own life?" before it could impress upon the man its last command to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation." That incalculable worth of the individual life it has established among men, never to perish from the earth. And now its present truth, the truth demanded by the needs and the cravings of to-day, is, as has well been said, "the proclamation of the kingdom of God, the revelation of God to man in social relations and social duties, the presence of God in the perplexities, the problems, even the convulsions of society."

To open the sociological field to the general or the professional student a pedagogical condition was essential. Only the progress of the practical purpose in education could find place in the curriculum of the college or seminary for the science of society. As the predominant emphasis of educators has passed from abstract ideas to the phenomena of nature, and thence to the human personality, the study of man's physical and social surroundings has forced itself upon scholars and teachers, until the formulation of the facts and principles of human association into a science has become an educational necessity. This practical purpose now tends to a twofold development. On the one hand, the life-spheres which environ men are coming to be regarded not separately, but as an organic whole, as structures of a common social life, as "an organism composed of interdependent parts performing functions essential to the life of the whole."

On the other hand, education seeks the adjustment of the whole man and his environment to each other by grouping the sciences of the human personality and of its historical, political, economic, social, ethical, and spiritual relationships under the co-ordinating and unifying science of society.

In estimating the sociological work in theological seminaries, we must not think of it as the only work of the kind done by the church. For in fulfilling her social mission she has ever put her sociological work into life rather than into literature. However unconsciously to herself, or however unrecognized by men, she has always builded better than they or she knew. Her family structure is the most indestructible and indispensable unit of society. Her local households of faith have been, and may be again, natural and necessary centres of the community, co-ordinating and bringing into harmony and co-operation all the forces of neighborhood and national life that make for righteousness and fraternity. Her kingdom is the only centre of a unity that comprehends the material, social, and spiritual interests of mankind. Her educational philanthropies are raising the abject and subject classes. Her missionary agencies at home and abroad are founding new civilizations. Slowly but surely Christianity is forging the social moulds for a new manhood, and fashioning the structure of a new heaven and a new earth.

Small though the beginnings of a distinctively Christian sociological literature and education may be, they indicate the rise of a mighty social movement within the churches, which, while quiet, unrecognized, and hardly conscious of its own existence as yet, is deep, pervasive, intensely practical, eager to learn, and destined to prevail. It is already ordaining the ministry to new service. It is rededicating churches to a new mission to humanity. It is reconstructing ecclesiastical architecture to new and more practical week-day purposes. It is recovering the obscured ideal of a priestly people, a ministering membership. It is interpreting the eclipsed world-terms of Christianity's great commission. It is reapplying the old gospel of glad tidings to new conditions of society. It is the re-proclamation of the kingdom of God on earth, with the fatherhood of God as its centre and the brotherhood of men as its bond. It is demanding, and will have, its science of the new society as surely as life finds its rescript in literature and learning.

There is to be, if there is not now, a science of society. Society is sure to become largely what the science of it is held to be. For it must not only be a classification of the facts of the present social status, but must be an induction of the future social progress and the dynamic power by which its ideal is to be realized, from the present status and past development of society. It is for the church to determine that there shall be both the science of Christian society and the Christian science of society.

What then is the purpose with which sociological training is to be introduced to the seminary?

Whatever original effort may be contributed toward the discovery and classification of the social phenomena in the world and the word, for the scientific induction of a Christian science of society, should be undertaken as a fundamental service to the Kingdom, and as essentially tributary to any practical aim.

But primary even to that is the practical purpose. As surely as facts precede the principles which are the inductions from them, so surely is the work of making society Christian to have precedence over that of forging out a Christian science of society. Human society is not indeed to be Christianized in a larger part until its science becomes Christian. But the more of society we can Christianize, the sooner will the Christian science of it arise. Given a Christian social life, it cannot fail to leave its impression and have its rescript in a Christian sociological literature. However imperative the demand for such a literature is acknowledged to be, yet the church has been scientific in putting more of her sociological work into life than into letters; into churches, missions, and philanthropies than into books; into families, neighborhoods, cities, and nations the world over than into literature and libraries.

In founding their Christian commonwealths, the Pilgrim Fathers did more to lay the foundation for a new Christian life and literature than by any systems of thought or government they could have written. By being an institutional man and minister, as Cotton Mather has aptly been called, he did more to establish Christian institutions and create the literature of them, than by all that he ever printed. In building American Christianity into the families and schools of India, China, Japan, Africa, and the islands of the sea, our missionary boards are helping to evangelize the very structures of those great human

societies. By the educational, industrial, and mission work of the American Missionary Association, the American churches have done the best sociological work for the abject, subject, and savage elements of the American population. The need of the hour in the church's work for the world is the formulation of such sociological principles from the facts of human life and of the divine word as will aid its pastors and people to apply our common Christianity to the social conditions of common life. By training the pastoral and missionary ministry in this pastoral sociology we may hope to add to their equipment and that of the church for the world-work of the Kingdom.

This training should, first of all, establish the student in the sociological point of view. No more valuable service can be rendered those entering upon the ministry of our day. Nothing is more surely attainable. For it may as truly be affirmed of sociology as it has been of Herbert Spencer's contribution to its literature, that no one who studies it can ever afterward occupy exactly the same point of view as before. How sadly true this is of the students of the materialistic evolutionary theory of society, the defection from the Christian faith of some of the brightest youth of the church may attest. But how advantageously true it may be of the Christian student it is not difficult to illustrate. From this point of observation, for instance, our views of human life, individual and social, are far truer to nature and the Word. A man will be seen to be no less a spirit than he has been thought to be, but his embodiment will appear to be as essential and conditionary an element of his whole being as it is in fact. His intellectual and spiritual nature may be no less subject to psychological analysis, but the physiological basis and ever-present conditions of mind must be admitted to have larger potency. Sense and the senses are found to be joined together by God, so that no man may put them asunder.

The will may be no less mysterious, free, and Godlike in the sovereignty of its choice, yet its action, if too free to be caused, is seen to be occasioned from without. Its choices are no more to be denied antecedents than consequents. Its processes proceed. Its decisions are reached in an order of sequence. Its liberty is not the license of caprice. The autocracy of the will is not so solitary, underived, and independent as has been thought. Environment and heredity must be admitted to the

very threshold of its throne-room, although they are as far as ever from being able to cross the threshold. Even for sinful choices of evil a basis may be discovered in the man's better, God-imaging self. The hungering flesh, the aspiring eye, the very life itself, are the prey of lust and pride. Were bread given when craved, might not more reject the stone and the scorpion offered by the Tempter? More and more the workman is conditioned by his work. Self is shaped by surroundings.

Individuality may be no less distinctive and valuable than ever. But what one includes in his personality that is common to God above us and fellow-men about, must be rated as a far higher measure of man, and as an immeasurably better medium of truth and power to men, than the individuality wherein he differs from others. The highest and best difference in men is seen to consist in having the most that is common to essential humanity. The acme of sociology is to develop the life of the individual out of a mere self-conscious existence into a personality that shares the life of the whole brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

Of human society, its new science gives us far profounder views. "The economic man," i.e., a changelessly selfish animal in an unchanging moral environment, is not seen to be more of a blasphemous parody of humanity, than the idea, or ideal, or reality of human society based on the grotesque "social-contract theory" is recognized to be the abrogation of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

From a sociological point of view men never had any such individual independence to surrender. For they can no more be dissociated from their social embodiments than from their own bodies. Society is an entity. Its organism differs from that of individual organisms in being constituted of these individual units which are capable of a more independent existence than their own constituent members are. The relation of the individual to these genetic structures of the social organism is that of status, not contract. A man or a woman may contract marriage, but the relationship thus contracted becomes a status, some of the relations of which no annulling or abrogation of contract can unmake. Fatherhood and motherhood are not subject to abrogation. Partnership in business is optional, but the obligation to earn one's living has no recognition as voluntary either by

society or nature. Right to secede, though not denied, yet must justify itself before the tribunal of mankind. But the right to secede from all law and government no civilized society can concede. Anarchism, except in the highest philosophical sense of self-control, or the highest Christian sense of millennial freedom from the necessity of law, is social suicide. The individual cannot be truthfully thought of or dealt with as disintegrated from those natural partnerships of the family, economic, social, political, and religious life of the race. They are necessary to his being a man. Without them he could not be what he is, or was meant to be. We do not more truly constitute them than they constitute us. Social conditions are the moulds in which men, women, and children are made.

> "Man is all symmetry,
> Full of proportions, one limb to another,
> And all to all the world beside.
> Each part may call the farthest brother,
> For head with foot hath private amity,
> And both with moons and tides."

The view of the revelation of Scripture to be attained from this sociological point of view corresponds with that of the phenomena of individual and social life. The sociological human development of the divine word, and the outgrowths of the church from the social conditions of men, are seen to give the sacred literature and Christian institutions as constituent a place in the order of things as the family or law. Apologetics must man the sociological point of view if it is to measure and meet some of the most radical denials of the fundamental postulates of Scripture and Christianity. Physiological psychology may yet determine the freedom of that will, and it cannot be argued apart from the relation between environment and volition. For nearly a generation the scientific ethnological evidence against the biblical claim for the family as the primitive social unit has been practically without rebuttal. And even now the scientific evidence in rebuttal is marshalled by antichristian authorities.

Will it be difficult to refute the *a priori* argument of Spencer and Fiske that Christian missions must fail? Have Christian missions nothing to answer to Fiske's assertion on sociological assumption that the Fiji cannot be made into a Christian; that "the attempts of missionaries to civilize the lower races of man-

kind by converting them to Christianity are abortive"; that "though they sometimes succeed in procuring temporary verbal acceptance of Christian feeling, such civilization as they are able to produce is both superficial and transient"?

The fundamental dependence, disclosed by biblical theology, of the development of Christian doctrine upon the life and experience of each successive age suggests to the sociologist what Christian doctrine has to do with the social development of life. And yet in all the scientific or philosophical literature of sociology there is no more recognition of the facts of faith and the forces of Christian experience than if a revelation had never made Israel to differ from Egypt, than if the Christian era had never dawned over Bethlehem, than if the cross had never marked the difference between forgiven and unforgiven men, than if the day of Pentecost had never fully come. But, so far from our need of substantiating these facts, may not our sociological application of them force upon any science of society that claims to be an induction from all the phenomena, the recognition of these revealed facts and these Christian forces? Cannot the steady pressure of divine love be shown to be an element in the law of social evolution? Can the presence of the personal God be truthfully eliminated from the social and spiritual environment which makes men? If the nature of the social aggregate is determined, as Mr. Spencer admits, by the nature of its units, then should we not show what the atonement and regeneration have to do with social regeneration? If social "progress" has a cause, and the social movement an end to be recognized by sociologists, has not the Christian church the greatest disclosure of the power of progress to make in the dynamic of the Holy Ghost? Is not the Kingdom the only worthy end, the only possible unity, of human society? If the development of "selfishness into sympathy" is the way-mark of progress, have we not the key to unlock the future in that love which is the fulfilling of the law, and in the words our Lord taught us to pray—Our Father, Give us, Forgive us, Lead us?

Next to the view-point for sociological observation, the most valuable equipment to be given by this training is the practical method of sociological study and work. This is suggested best by exemplification. Far more valuable than the transference of mere facts, or theories, or history to the memory of the student

is the furnishing of his mind with the method of observing and classifying facts for himself and drawing his own conclusions for his own use.

This is a work of time, experience, and drill, and must begin early and continue throughout the course. As, in the school of life, experience teaches us the abstract by the concrete, the general by the specific, the complex by the simple, the theory by the fact, so, here, we may best begin to learn, simply by having our eyes opened to the common though unnoted facts all about us, and by having our minds stimulated to query and to think upon them. There is no better beginning than to start at the family life of our Sunday-school scholar, or at the first solicitation for alms, or the tramp's appeal for a lodging, or a session of a police-court, a labor-strike, the formation of a trust, or at the relation between the home, the shop, the post-office, and the church at some country cross-roads. If any one of these points of inquiry is followed up and out, it lays bare the foundation of society. The street, the shop, the school, the mission, are the first text-book. For this study of human life in the original what first sources are open to us in the volume of this great city's daily life! To our eyes the periodical press fits its lynx-eyed lenses. The daily papers, the trades and labor journals, the philanthropic and scientific literature, scanned in the reading-room and discussed and compared with personal observation in the seminary, afford the best introduction to social phenomena. The interest thus awakened, and the inquiry for facts thus started, may then be specialized in a single line of pursuit by an elective study of some such subject as pauperism and poverty, public relief and private charity; or municipal economics as exemplified in the community where the study is pursued; or the poor-laws of the Pentateuch compared with subsequent legislation; or the social condition of labor as disclosed in the reports of the bureaus of labor statistics, the discussions of labor organizations, and by personal observation among the working people of the several trades represented in the community; or child-saving from juvenile delinquency and industrial bondage. In such a course the main purpose may well be to open to the student the knowledge of the original literary sources of his study in the census and other government reports, in the proceedings of scientific bodies, and in the treatises of specialists, and to train him to make per-

sonal and independent use of his tools. Meanwhile the student's personal participation should be practically enlisted in the two great arms of the service of the Kingdom, Christian nurture and evangelism. This field work should be supplemented by prescribed class-room drill in the pedagogical principles and most approved methods of nurturing child life into the Christian stature and in the personal and institutional types of evangelistic work.

Specialization leads up to generalization, the practical to the theoretical, without which no preparation for the minister's own study and use of sociological data could be complete. These inductive studies in specific lines of social economics prepare the way for the very different but more fundamental study of general sociology. The whole course may thus be divided into two distinct divisions. One should be devoted to Christian social economics, in which may well be included the broader sociological treatment of nurture or catechetics, of evangelistics, of ecclesiastical polity and administration, of the preventive, relief, reformatory, and restorative efforts and institutions of the Christian church and state, as well as the application of Christian law and principles, revealed in Scripture and developed in life, to the industrial, political, and social relations of men.

Another and distinct division of the course should be devoted to general sociology. Therein the province of the science and its relationship to other sciences, and the personality of men and God, are to be carefully defined. The basis and structure of human society, or social genesis and anatomy, are to be studied. The interdependent relationship of the primary social structures of family, industrial, political, social, and religious life is to be proved. The meaning and method of social progress are to be investigated, and the theoretical and practical relation of the biblical revelation and Christianity to the whole is to be determined. The course finds its practical culmination in the pastoral application of the sociological principles of heredity, of domestic, industrial, social, and spiritual environment, of the growth, development, movement, progress of society, and of the relief, reformatory, and restorative methods of social economics.

Inspiration and impulse to use the view-point, method, and tools for the application of Christianity to the social conditions of common life is the final aim of this department. The teacher's

personality, enthused by being possessed with Christ's own purpose to redeem the world and every living soul in it, is the only medium through which the impact of truth can kindle enthusiasm for subsequent study and effort. Established in this point of view, equipped with this method, and inspired by this enthusiasm for humanity, the church cannot fail to be more completely furnished and strongly impelled for its world-work for the Kingdom.

The suggestions prompted by the review of the instruction offered and the methods employed by the several seminaries are these:

The academic studies of candidates for the theological course should be so directed, by the co-operation of collegiate and seminary faculties, as to insure their special preparation in political economy, economic history, ethics, and physiological psychology. The lack of this basis by a considerable proportion of every class is a serious impediment to the accomplishment of satisfactory results in the brief time which at best can be secured for sociological study in the theological curriculum. To this end, and for the training of the laity in the Christian aspects of sociology, the establishment of chairs of Applied Christianity, such as Iowa College has set the type of, is highly desirable.

The limitations of time, scope, and aim that sociological training may claim in the theological curriculum are to be clearly and definitely recognized in order to the attainment of practical results. More time for this and other imperatively necessary branches can be secured in one of three ways: by offering elective courses, to which from one third to one fourth of all the required hours should be devoted; by lengthening the course to four years, which is yet to be strongly demanded of the seminaries; or by devoting and readjusting the department of pastoral theology so that it may be in name, aim, scope, and method what in fact the new conditions of Christian work demand that it should become, viz., the department of pastoral sociology. Either one of these changes would make it practicable for any seminary to introduce social economics to its training for service. All of them would supply adequate provision for the sociological training of the ministry.

The scope of sociological instruction practicable in a seminary course is limited by the aim of its introduction. The course

cannot comprehend, for example, the thorough study of political economy, although the economic conditions of individual and social development demand study. The theory of wages, land-tenure, labor, and currency cannot be exhaustively treated, but the bearings of these problems upon life can and should be understood by the study of the social condition of labor. The sciences of penology, charity, and statistics cannot be mastered, but their relation to Christianity and to the responsibility of the churches for the dependent, delinquent, and defective classes it is almost criminal not to define. The scientific study of all the philanthropic, reformatory, and labor movements and methods of the day cannot be undertaken, but they may supersede the church if she does not maintain or regain her leadership of them.

It remains to add a word of justification and enter a plea.

Against the assumption that the theological bias "incapacitates the mind for the study of sociology," it may be necessary to justify the introduction of this science into theological seminaries. The recognition of any such interference of human or divine volition with social evolution as renders prevision impossible, is declared to be destructive to the existence of any science of society. Theology is supposed to be committed to such a recognition, and therefore indicates "the mental attitude of those for whom there can be no such thing as sociology properly so called." (See "The Study of Sociology," by Herbert Spencer, chapter 2.) It might be sufficient to deny the responsibility of theology for the mental attitude therein described, which no intelligent student of the Scriptures can justify, but it may be well to be reminded that no such conception of the will is taught by Scripture, or should be inculcated by theology, as denies antecedents to its choices, and the order of sequence to its action, or asserts its liberty to be lawlessness, its freedom caprice, and its autocracy to be absolutely underived, independent of all precedent, and wholly incapable of prevision. God is immanent in nature. His will is law. His Word discloses the natural laws by which man's will works. If it is admitted that "the character of the aggregate is determined by the character of the units," the theological seminary may justify its right to teach sociology by demonstrating the formative influence which Christianity has ever exerted over the individual units, and the determining effect it thereby has upon the social aggregate. It may go further and claim sociology to be the science of the kingdom of

the Son of Man, the formulation and application of which through the ages is the very dynamic of the social evolution of the race. The bias by which Mr. Spencer here and elsewhere is so unmistakably influenced cannot be admitted by any Christian student to have disqualified him from performing the most distinguished service which has yet been rendered society and the church within the domain of sociology. More than to any man, the world and the church will long be indebted to him for the formulation of sociological method, and the observation, classification, and tabulation of data the inductions from which in large part constitute sociological science.

To justify the sociological training of the ministry before the bar of Christian judgment is fast becoming a work of supererogation. For the churches are realizing as never before that to fulfil Christianity's mission to the individual it is more and more necessary to Christianize the social conditions which so largely and inevitably shape or modify every human life. The consciousness more and more possesses the mind, heart, and effort of the whole church that Christianity finds its divinely purposed earthly consummation in the redemption of human society and the restoration of this world to the ideal whereunto God created it, and Christ died, lives, and reigns to redeem it.

Sociology and social economics, therefore, are interwoven with the terms of the church's great commission to "disciple all nations," and "preach the gospel to the whole creation." Read in the light of these world-terms of the church's charter the Bible becomes a new book. Its Genesis is found to be the most original literary source for the study of social origins. Its primitive customs are seen in the process of crystallizing into law. Its ancient law formulates the most fundamental yet ideal principles of legislation capable of universal application. In the rise and growth of its social and political institutions the evolution of the organic structures of contemporary life is illustrated. Its ancient history lives again to light up the problems of the modern world. Its fundamental tenets of one divine fatherhood, the brotherhood of all men; the immanence of God in natural law and human life through the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the redemptive atonement offered by the God-man, and the sacrifice of self in service to be made by all men, the regeneration of the soul and of society by the dynamic indwelling of the Spirit of God,—these old and

yet ever new facts and forces are to be recognized if history is to be understood, if the dark problems of the life of to-day are to be solved, and if "progress" is to maintain or increase its movement toward the goal of perfected life, individual and social. Theology, too, is humanized, yet all the more deified when viewed from its relation with and application to the whole organism of human life. It becomes all the more truly a "body of divinity" by including the body of the humanities. The church, built upon and operated from this view of its vital relations to human society, is seen to be identified with the commonest interests of men. Its Sunday worship is exalted by its week-day work. It saves more souls for the other world by saving more men in this one. It saves the soul more surely and to more that makes it worth saving by saving society from its sins. It shuts the mouth of hell and opens the door of heaven as it centres hope and effort upon bringing the kingdom of God to earth. To occupy the sociological point of view in its teaching and application of the gospel of the Kingdom is the quickest and surest way of bringing society to the Christian conception of its high and holy ideal and function.

The plea based upon all that precedes is:

1. For the establishment of sociological departments of equal status and share of time with the other professorships in the theological seminaries, and with liberty of independent development.

2. For field work which shall be what the clinic is to the medical school, what the laboratory is to the scientist, where the student may be under the supervision, restraint, and impulse of a practical and experienced specialist.

3. For library equipment with original sources of information such as government reports of the census and of special investigations, the treatises of specialists, the proceedings of scientific bodies, etc.

4. For personal representation in the societies of specialists, involving occasional leaves of absence for attendance upon their meetings and the necessary travelling expenses.

5. For the co-operation of seminaries with each other and the colleges in promoting the sociological training of the ministry and membership of the church for social service.

6. For the extension of this instruction and training to those at work on the field by university-extension methods.

7. For the use of the church as the centre of social unity and the agency of the broadest social service.

Sociology was born of the church. It is the science of her old Kingdom. The gospel of the Kingdom is sociology with God left in it, with Christ as the centre of unity, with the new birth of the individual for the regeneration of society, and the indwelling Spirit as the only power adequate to fulfil its social ideal. For this kingdom of the Son of man the whole earth is space, the weary heart of man has place, every nation will make room, each community will welcome its humblest herald, all else must make way. The history of the English people began when upon the tomb of a forgotten hero might have been inscribed the words which Charles Kingsley wrote over his name: "Here lies the first of the new English, who by the grace of God began to drain the fens." So it is said the imperial supremacy of the English people dates from the time the nation went home from Waterloo to attend to her own housekeeping, to work for her daily bread, to care for her women and children, to build roads, shops, and schools, to cleanse houses and streets, and care for her sick. And the church and seminary that will train a ministry for this world-work of the Kingdom will begin to write a new and glorious page in the history of the commonwealth of Israel, and the covenants of promise.

THE FOES OF SOCIETY, CHURCH, AND STATE.

By Mr. Anthony Comstock, Secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Within this Art Institute eloquent and educated men and women have brought their choicest thoughts, presented their richest words of instruction, and concentrated their best efforts. Notwithstanding all, the proud distinction and honor are reserved to me of introducing before this assemblage a national exhibit which far eclipses the highest conception of the World's Columbian Exposition—the 22,400,000 boys and girls, the wards of this nation, its future hope and prosperity. These millions of youth, in one solid phalanx, with firm and irresistible step, are marching steadily forward from infancy to maturity. Whether we realize it or not, these are to be the men and women of the next generation and the parents of a still more remote generation. They soon will displace from positions of trust and responsibility those now in office. In their hands must inevitably be placed the reins of government. The supreme importance of the education, culture, right training, and spiritual development of this mighty army is second to no theme considered within the walls of this Art Institute.

I have also the distinguished honor to-day of speaking on behalf of the work of a little company of heroic men who were incorporated in 1873 by the legislature of the Empire State under the title of The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. In the spirit of fraternity we would enlarge this circle of moral heroes and make grateful mention of auxiliary societies and our sister-organization, the noble Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, all of whom have done valiant service as vanguards of the church. For the period of more than twenty-one years some of those thus associated have stood shoulder to shoulder in their determined efforts to beat back the "moral

cancer-planters" of the nineteenth century and prevent the destruction of the moral purity of the rising generation.

An army in passing through an enemy's country sends out advance-guards and the pioneer corps to ascertain the strength and location of the enemy, locate masked batteries, discover ambuscades, fire sunken mines, bridge gullies and streams, and remove obstructions before the advancing army. So the societies for the suppression of vice for more than a score of years have been engaged at the front. We have discovered something of the position, dangerous character, and methods of enemies who lie athwart the pathway of the children of this nation. To-day it is our proud privilege to return from the forefront of active conflict with these foes, to you, the representatives of the Evangelical Alliance, you, the generals in the field of the army of the Lord, and make report of what we have discovered.

I may be pardoned if I introduce to this audience the Board of Managers of the New York Society, and officers of kindred societies, some of whom have served this nation for nearly a quarter of a century in this capacity. First, I present our beloved president, Samuel Colgate; our three highly-honored vice-presidents, William E. Dodge, Morris K. Jesup, and Welcome G. Hitchcock; Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, our faithful treasurer; and the following executive committee: A. F. Libby, chairman; William C. Beecher, counsel; Rev. William A. Rice, D.D., John Sinclair, John V. Cockcroft, Bowles Colgate, and Hamilton R. Fairfax.

We especially mention Mr. W. J. Breed, the president of the Western society; Mr. H. D. Penfield, president of the Chicago branch; Mr. J. W. Hearne, president of the Cincinnati branch; Oscar D. Whitelaw, president of the St. Louis society; and their faithful and energetic agent, Mr. R. W. McAfee, of St. Louis.

Mr. Henry Chase, of the New England society of Boston, and Mr. C. J. Bennett, of the California society, both deserve well of their countrymen.

At the Centennial in 1876 in Philadelphia, there was displayed in the Art Gallery a master-work of art. It represented Rizpah, of Bible fame, standing upon sackcloth spread upon a rock, with one hand upraised and a look of holy determination aglow upon her fair face, defending the dead bodies of Saul's seven sons, as they hung suspended upon the gallows before her,

from the birds of prey by day and the beasts of prey by night. Above the heads of these seven young men were pictured vultures, congers, buzzards, and other birds of prey circling in the air, whilst crouching in the dark outlines of the picture were ravenous beasts, lurking to devour these dead bodies. This picture is typical of the work of the societies for the suppression of vice and of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of this nation, with this exception : that we stand, not for the dead, but in defence of the living. Man's greed has turned loose to prey upon these millions of youthful souls, foes that are more to be dreaded than the most ravenous of birds or beasts of prey.

As a help to the comprehension of the importance of this work, let me invite you to some lofty mountain-peak that shall overlook a plane sufficiently vast to give place to this mighty host. Then at the trumpet's call let there come forth from homes, schools, seminaries, and colleges these 22,400,000 boys and girls and form in one column facing towards eternity. What a spectacle presents itself !

In the heart of each one of these children is a chamber of imagery, memory's storehouse. The father and the mother are the divinely-appointed artists to first decorate the walls of this chamber of imagery. They are appointed to garnish the domain of action and life with first impressions. They should enshrine the citadel of thought with pure and holy influences. Blessed are parents faithful in their department of duty, for " Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

As we have concentrated the youth before our view, let us now see what dangerous elements are encircling them ; what the foes of society, church, and state are doing to destroy native innocence, dethrone virtue and truth, and rob the future of noble characters.

As we contemplate the foes of moral purity and the harvest of their seed-sowing, we cry out in the words of the prophet of old in his lamentation over the sins of the Jews, " Yet hear ye the word of the Lord, O ye women, and let your ears receive the words of his mouth, and teach your daughters wailing, and every one her neighbor lamentation. For death is come up into our windows, and is entered into our palaces, to cut off the children from without, and the young men from the streets."

Stealthily moving in the midst of this mighty host are myriad

foes taking advantage of inherited appetites, passions, and tendencies to wrong-doing, seeking to rob society, church, and state of the blessings of pure, noble characters which ought to be devoloped out of this mighty army.

Intemperance, gambling, evil reading, and infidelity are preeminently malignant foes. These are the great crime-breeders of the day. The first three create crimes where they do not exist, and foster them where they do exist. The latter removes the restraints of religion and morals from the propensities of the wicked. Each one of these 22,400,000 youth have bodies constructed upon a system more complex, mysterious, and wonderful than the most ingenious invention within the gates of the World's Columbian Exposition. Each possesses a spiritual, moral, and intellectual nature, so divinely constructed that when properly guarded from temptation and sin and adjusted in harmony with the will of its Creator, it realizes the highest temporal and spiritual enjoyment and perfection. The rum-seller, the gambler, and the publisher of criminal and obscene literature do not hesitate to defile the system, dethrone reason and natural affections, debauch the imagination, poison the fountain of moral purity, and destroy physical, moral, and spiritual life in the young.

A moment ago we gazed upon a mighty host assembled. Let us again draw near. But look: a line of fire encircles these innocent ones. They are hemmed in on every side. Is it the fierce prairie-fire, driven by cyclone blast, rushing upon them to consume them? No. It is the flashlight of hell blazing out from gilded saloons, glittering gambling-dens, and dives fitted up with all the attraction of electric lights, polished mirrors and cut glass, carved woodwork and highly-decorated walls, inviting the weak ones to turn aside from sobriety and virtue. Thousands of children thus tempted have an inherited appetite for strong drink; others have come into the world with natures as sensitive as is the hair-trigger of a rifle, ready to fall into sin at the slightest temptation. Many are born as it were upon the verge of a volcano. Early training is often neglected. These weak and infected ones are easily overcome by the assaults of the Tempter.

Back of this flashlight of hell is a vast army of grown men and women pandering to the basest passions of men, and offering glittering allurements to draw in the unwary for their own personal gain.

Upon every victim of the drink curse the devil places his brand. Some of his marks are the bleared eye, the bloated face, the red nose, the tottering form, the reeling step, and a system full of putrefying sores. Reason, the divine light of the soul, is dethroned; nerves and tissues are unstrung and burned up; the brain is impoverished because the blood has been diluted by poisonous chemical concoctions sold under enticing names. Health is broken down, human ambitions wrecked, natural affections quenched, the heart broken, and the soul damned. The last census discloses an awful harvest to this seed-sowing, of 1,000,000 habitual drunkards in the United States. From 75,000 to 100,000 drunkards die each year. But this census report does not tell it all. It is silent as to the hundreds of thousands of heart-broken wives and mothers, or the millions of children beggared and reduced to squalor and want; of the homes that have been wrecked; of the many crimes committed; of the many reformatory institutions, prisons, penitentiaries, and jails needed to care for the ever-increasing brigade of criminals created by this drink curse.

Many other startling exhibits might be presented bearing upon this subject, particularly the fact that nearly $900,000,000 are spent annually for intoxicating liquors.

Notwithstanding all these startling figures and facts, professing Christian men, reputable citizens and patriots, require the state to go into partnership with this crime-breeder and demand that a license-fee be paid out of this blood-money.

In return the state must pay increased taxes for courts, police, prisons, reformatories, alms-houses, and paupers' graves. Society receives a legacy of wrecked homes, disorders, and breaches of the peace, and the church a harvest of heart-broken women, beggared children, and lost souls to mourn over.

But there is another class of full-grown forms called men, that toil not, neither do they spin, who like ravenous beasts are seeking to victimize these innocent ones. This class make a business of taking other people's money without returning any just or fair equivalent for it. Too lazy to work, too cowardly to steal outright, but, like the rum-seller, mean enough to take the poor man's last dollar, the professional gambler is menacing the future prosperity of this army of youthful souls.

The society which I have the honor of representing to-day has prosecuted many of these men in the courts. As showing the

curse to this nation, I present a tabulated statement of cases brought to our attention as the direct harvest of the gambling mania in this country during the past few months. From this very imperfect record we find five murders, thirteen suicides, sixteen defaulters, twelve forgers, nine embezzlers, and thirty-five persons guilty of grand larceny, while more than $3,306,000 was taken dishonestly and paid over to the gambling fraternity. Temptation comes from the race-track, the lottery-office, faro-banks, pool-rooms, policy-shops; and worst of all is the "sure tip" upon horse-races through the columns of reputable daily newspapers.

The "sure tip" in newspapers brings the wild craze into the home, store, bank, and place of business, beguiling the minds of young men and others with a sure promise of gain which is hard for many to resist. Wherever this evil is allowed to have a foothold justice is paralyzed, laws violated, officials bribed, and wild disorders of every description rush in. In 1877, in New York City, there were nine lotteries with open offices doing business in violation of law. Lines of ticket-buyers were then kept in order by uniformed policemen. The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice in New York City assailed these lotteries, and after a fight of several years succeeded in dislodging every one of them, closing their offices, and all but one have been driven out of existence. This last national scourge a few months ago proposed to buy the General Assembly of the state of Louisiana by an offer of a bribe of $31,250,000 to be paid in twenty-five annual payments if that legislative body would extend their charter another twenty-five years. The counsel for this organization came into our office and offered $25,000 a year, the first payment to be made within forty-eight hours, if we would but consent to allow them to continue their infamous business in the city of New York. Their offer was scorned. At the time we last raided them in the city of New York we seized their account-books, which showed that their average daily receipts in one office in New York City amounted to $5176 a day.

The faro-bank, the roulette-table, hazard, policy, and lotteries combined are to-day not doing the harm to this nation that pool-gamblers and book-makers upon the race-tracks are doing, supported as they are in their system of public plundering by otherwise reputable newspapers. The "sure tip" of the news-

paper is beguiling many and many a youth to not only sacrifice his entire earnings, but tempting thousands to become defaulters, forgers, and thieves, in order to get money to satisfy the insatiate greed for gain awakened by these temptations.

As showing the dominancy of the gambling mania over law, order, and morals, we present a leaf from the records of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. In 1877 we first assailed the gambling and lottery establishments of New York City. For more than two years after we began to prosecute these criminals we found it impossible to break their hold. The district attorney would not bring any of these indicted criminals to justice in the courts of New York County. It was not until after Governor Cornell of the state had been appealed to and had issued his proclamation that we were able to bring these open violators of the law to justice. In Kings County, that Mecca for prize-fighters and gamblers, we were obliged to arrest the chief of police and eight of his subordinate policemen in the town of Gravesend before we could break the hold of the gamblers in that crime-cursed town.

Appealed to by citizens in Queens County, we later went to Long Island City, and before we could break the gamblers' hold there we were obliged to present to the grand jury for indictment a justice of the peace, a coroner, a policeman, and a prominent lawyer who advised them in their efforts to obstruct and harass our agents while we were raiding four principal gambling-establishments in that city.

Later still we went to Saratoga. The first four men out of twenty-four professional gamblers whom we arrested for openly violating the law were peace officers, either deputy sheriffs or constables of the town, who were standing in the gambling-booths and openly violating the laws.

But look again! Encircling this mighty host of youthful souls are worse than ravenous beasts and creeping serpents. Moral lepers in almost endless variety have sprung up within the last half-century, scattering seeds of poison regardless of the blasting results to the future prosperity of this nation. Not alone in our own land, but, as we have recently discovered, coming from Italy, Germany, England, Holland, and France, moral cancer-planters are to-day sending through the mails, and otherwise, worse than microbes of Asiatic cholera, scarlet fever, and

smallpox to curse and destroy the mind, body, and soul of the children of the land.

If we could display these evils as your advance-guard know them to exist, we should drive this audience in horror from this room. Children in our homes, schools, seminaries, and colleges have been cursed with a moral pestilence. I ask your attention to a few of these assaults upon the citadel of thought; poisons dropped into the fountain of moral purity; infamous decorations which the spirit of evil is seeking to hang up in the chamber of imagery in the hearts of our children; degrading influences that are being crowded into memory's storehouse, which, once admitted, remain a perpetual menace to the peace and prosperity of the future of these youthful lives. The worst forms of the devil's literature trails in secret. Others that walk in open day are more to be dreaded than the plagues of Egypt. In many daily papers we find the sensational details of loathsome crimes, sickening reports of divorce and abandonment proceedings, the ranting blasphemy of infidel lecturers, and sarcastic flings at religion and reform. Added to these must be the advertisements of degrading practitioners, low theatres, prize-fights, quack doctors; personals that are an open bid for impurity and a pandering to the sensual and debasing influences of life.

Distilled from the daily papers come the criminal weekly illustrated papers flaunted from shop-windows and news-stands, filled with the most degrading and soul-debasing pictures and matters—an insult to the civilization of the nineteenth century, undermining the moral elevation of the children of this nation. Cigarette pictures, advertising schemes, and even the bill-boards, fences, and walls of buildings are used to degrade womanhood, and bid for the destruction of moral and spiritual life in the young. The five- and ten-cent story-papers of blood-and-thunder sensation educate the youthful mind to deeds of violence and crime. In many of these the principal character is some boy or girl who has thrown off parental restraint, played truant from school, run away from home to enter upon a life of crime, and made a fortune by criminal living. These stories excite the imagination to disregard the rights of others, make self the central thought, and lead to a vagabond and criminal existence. They destroy the native innocence of childhood; build up an unreal system of thought and fancy; displace taste for study, making

our children day-dreamers and castle-builders, to the exclusion of all desire, taste, or regard for God's word or the hallowed influences of his house. With curiosity piqued, taste perverted, God's word supplanted in thought, imagination made receptive, the way is paved for the approach of that other monster which trails in secret and whose slimy form must be kept hidden from parents' view for fear of extermination. We forget that evil thoughts are the precursors of evil deeds. Thoughts are the elements upon which the mind feeds. If pure and holy, they are like fertilizing currents flowing through the soul. If impure and unholy, they are degrading, demoralizing, and destructive. This last class sting to death. Their bite is more deadly than a viper's, more malignant than the moccasin, and more to be dreaded than the adder or rattlesnake. They breed lust, they enslave the imagination, corrupt thoughts, poison the foundation of moral purity, defile the mind, hang up in the chamber of imagery in the heart a perpetual disturbance to future peace and comfort, sear the conscience, harden the heart, and damn the soul. The defiled imagination leads to practices which enervate the system, shock the nerves, deaden memory, weaken the brain, destroy will-power, rob the eye of its lustre, the cheek of its rosy flower, and the voice of its ring. It unnerves the arm and steals away the elastic step. They blast and stunt spiritual growth, hollow out character, and leave a wreck mentally, morally, and spiritually. As an evidence of the existence of these evils let me add that since we began in 1872 we have seized the plates and engravings for 227 different publications printed and sold in this country. For more than twenty years the society which I have the honor of representing have systematically warred against this scourge. To-day the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice reports 1850 arrests and more than 67 tons of contraband matter seized and destroyed, 45 tons of this being obscene and indecent matters. The Western society, through Mr. R. W. McAfee, reports up to January 1, 1893, 386 arrests and 449,427 circulars and leaflets, 8721 pounds of books, 18,623 pictures, 654 negatives seized. Mr. Henry Chase, for the New England society, reports 190 arrests and 323 books, 270 negatives, and 3139 lottery tickets seized. The 67 tons seized by the New York society include the following: 49,449 pounds of books and sheet stock; 27,324 pounds of plates for printing books; 820,815

obscene pictures; 5262 negatives for printing photographs; 96,670 articles for immoral use; 1,539,770 obscene circulars, songs, etc.; 32,683 newspapers containing unlawful matter; 114,983 open letters ordering contraband goods; 379 engraved steel and copper plates, and 633 woodcuts and electroplates; 3,003,495 lottery tickets; 1,781,891 pool tickets; 519,376 lottery circulars; 58,062 policy slips, and over 1,500,000 green-goods circulars; besides 990,570 names and addresses to which the persons arrested sent circulars.

Gladly would we stop here if the facts would warrant, but there are still other moving creatures assaulting this youthful throng. These are ghouls and carrion-devouring beasts and birds, quack doctors, advertising specialists, and myriads of frauds who seek by lying circulars or letters to induce suffering humanity to fly to them for relief, offering safeguards and inducements to an impure life. These parasites live upon the weakness of their fellow-men.

But look again. Overshadowing this mighty host, with outstretched wings darkening the heavens above them, with frantic shrieks of rage and blasphemy filling the air, comes another foe, demanding the removal of religious and moral restraints from the propensities of the wicked. In 1876, in the city of Philadelphia, the infidels, free-thinkers, and free-lovers of this nation organized under the name of the National Liberal League. In 1877 and 1878 this organization demanded that Congress should repeal five sections of law which were passed in 1873 prohibiting the importation into this country, the dissemination by mail, the publishing, uttering, or in any way disseminating in its territories, the District of Columbia, navy yards, and provinces over which Congress had exclusive jurisdiction, of all obscene, lewd, indecent books, articles, and things. By basest conspiracies and most diabolical frauds this horde sought to create an adverse public sentiment against these laws and the enforcement of them in the interest of the venders of filth in this country. At the same time that they demanded the absolute repeal of these five sections they demanded also the removal of all religious restraints as well.

In presenting our report to this Congress we have spoken from a practical standpoint. From out of the fulness of more than twenty-one years of experience we have testified to the things that

we do know and of the things which we have seen. We speak from a terrible reality. We plead because of a terrible necessity for action.

The church of God is not sufficiently informed as to the great odds against which it must contend in order to save the world. The power of rum, gambling, and licentiousness in the world is filling early graves, degrading society, and cursing more and more each generation born into the world. It is a seed-sowing for evil that must be stopped. The harvest is all about us. It will continue so long as the seed-sowing is allowed. "Be not deceived: God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

"Mourn for the lost; but call,
Call to the strong and free;
Warn them to shun that dreadful fall,
And to the refuge flee.

"Mourn for the lost; but pray,
Pray to our God above;
To break the fell destroyer's sway,
And show his saving love."

Men and brethren, while we pray let us be up and doing, not craven cowards, not weak truckling politicians, not traitors to God and humanity; but as soldiers of the cross, let us trust God, keep our powder dry, train our guns upon these four crime-breeding monsters, and not cease our efforts till every foe be vanquished and Jesus Christ, our great commander, is crowned Lord of all.

I am reminded by Mr. Dodge to tell you that there are a band of men in this country who are gathering the catalogues of schools and seminaries and by the aid of these catalogues sending their vile literature among the children of our land. I received a communication recently from the principal of an educational institution in Brooklyn, who said to me, "A man has been here to get our catalogue, and I am convinced that he is intending to use it

for no good purpose. He has a number of catalogues of various schools and seminaries." I followed up this and recovered a number of these catalogues, and also seized a large stack of addressed envelopes. I wrote to the heads of certain seminaries, and immediately received replies from some of them showing where this man had sent his indecent publications.

Question: What is the solution of all this?

Mr. COMSTOCK: My dear sir, I presume the papers read here have been answering that question. Bring the world to the Lord Jesus Christ and stop the seed-sowing. You preach the word, but while you are training your guns upon the enemy don't hesitate or fail to send out your advance-guard around the church where you live, to discover what influences are being exerted upon the children in your own community. As Dr. Cuyler once said to me, "Fight the devil at your own door."

THE PRESIDENT: The point, I think, which would interest the gentleman is just here. If Christian people in every community, without any relation to denomination, would join together and carefully search out the evils in their neighborhood, and not only search out but get the evidence, not sensationally but legally, and bring it before the proper legal officers, offenders might be punished. So carefully has our friend Mr. Comstock worked out this problem, and worked out all these cases, that for the crimes that have been unearthed and discovered, convictions have followed almost invariably, and even against the wishes of legal officers and those who had sympathized with the evil ones. How many convictions have you got out of the number?

Mr. COMSTOCK: I cannot give the totals, but during the past few years we have had five hundred and fifty-seven cases brought to trial, and we have had five hundred and fifty convictions.

Rev. Dr. COTTRELL: I would like to ask this question before the gentleman takes his seat. If the ministers of the gospel and the church assume the rôle of prosecutors, instead of asserting the paternity of the divine government and the mercy of a loving God, will we not grow into the excesses by which the history of man has been made one Golgotha? If we assume the rôle of prosecutors, as ministers of the gospel, instead of letting

Cæsar attend to his own business, I believe that we are perverting the church of God.

Mr. COMSTOCK: My brother, if some fiend comes along and takes your child and holds it up to a buzz-saw, have you no responsibility? Have you to stand by and take it?

Dr. COTTRELL: Yes, but humanity is no fiend.

Mr. COMSTOCK: I say that every Christian man is responsible, and the pulpit should give its voice in support of the reformers who are engaged in securing evidence and taking action against these men. Let there be an organization that has the moral support of the community. The pulpit is silent, while the foes are active on every hand. Why have we not an enlightened public sentiment that comes from the pulpit? I have stood twenty-one years in the forefront of this battle, standing defended by the promises of God, standing when the assassin's breath has been upon me, his bludgeon over me, his knife severing nerve and tissue—I have trusted in the infinite God for protection, and he has brought me to this hour. [Applause.] No word of mine shall detract from the influence of God's word as preached from the pulpit. I say, preach the gospel, but while you preach, you are the general that is leading your church. Your church is your regiment, and you are leading them through an enemy's country. Can you lead them through and not take account of the foe that lies across the path of the marching hosts?

Mr. PENFIELD: May I say a word? I am the president of the organization here in Chicago, and if I may say a word I would like it. I feel impelled to speak on this subject. Some time ago, in a meeting here, a public speaker asked, "Is Mr. Comstock in this audience? If he isn't, I want to exhibit a naked picture." They laughed at him. But let me tell you, on every hand there are men asking, "Is Anthony Comstock in this audience?" They are watching for Anthony Comstock. There was a man on Wabash Avenue who wanted to sell a lot of improper merchandise, but he said, "If I do that, Mr. McAfee will be after me." He hired Mr. McAfee as one of his agents to sell these things, and was very much surprised when, the next day, he met him at the prison. I can take you not very far from here and show you a window full of the vilest pictures and vilest

books. We tried to indict that man. We tried for several months before we could get him indicted. We got six indictments over him. On one he pleaded guilty and paid a fine of four hundred dollars. We held the others over him and said, "If you violate the law we will prosecute you." His window is full of these books and pictures all the time, and you will see the boys and the men standing there at any hour looking into it. But we can't get him prosecuted. We have tried time and again. Now let me tell you. A gentleman came to me a while ago and said, "I want to ask you what we can do. I am mayor of a town up in Wisconsin, and our newsdealer has been led to send down here to Chicago for a lot of books;" and he told me the name of a reputable firm here who had sent those books up there. Most of those books were published by this very man I speak of—vile beyond measure. This mayor said, "They have come into our schools. One of the girls, going from my Sunday-school last week, took one of those books out from under her cloak and slipped it under the cloak of another girl. Those books have gone into families. Two fathers have come into my office broken-hearted because they found those books in their daughters' possession. Those books have gone into our public schools. They are in the Sunday-school." And this dealer, if he had been indicted and punished when we first furnished our state's attorney with the evidence, would have been closed up and those books would never have gone out. What can you do? Arouse public sentiment. Tell your people in your churches that this is being done. Watch a little when you go by these places, and if you see books that are suspicious, call the attention of these societies to them; and when we go there to arrest them, give us your support, and help all you can by public sentiment. There is a work for Christian men and women to do. I believe this country has no conception of what it owes to Anthony Comstock and to Mr. McAfee and these other men who are standing in the breach and striving to turn back this horrid tide that the devil is seeking to cast into our schools and colleges and churches. Pray for them, and pray away down into your pocket-book for them, and speak kindly of them, and when you hear a man talking against them say a word in their behalf, and thank God that they stand where

they do, and that your families, your children are safer because these men are willing to take this work upon them, and to bear the reproach and the infamy of working in this cause, and to bear—as I thought while I sat here and looked at Mr. Comstock this morning—to bear in their bodies the marks of suffering for your children.

THE CHURCH AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

By Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., President of the City Vigilance League of New York.

One of the last things upon which the Spirit lays his finger in divine emphasis in closing the volume of Revelation is the matter of the city. It is the new city, to be sure, but it is city. It is the city come down from God, but it is city. In that consummating vision souls as individuals went out of sight; went out of God's sight; God forgot them for the moment; and they subsisted in the Apocalyptic picture only as they were organically built into one another and bound up in a municipal bundle. That stands away out at the western end of the Bible, and is the Holy Ghost's "good-bye" thought. Regenerated individual souls are a vast matter, but principally because they are the material upon which the structure of regenerated *society* has to depend. Society is not an aggregate of men, any more than the body is an aggregate of muscle, bone, and joint. A man, however complete as such, is a fraction and always a fraction; temporally and eternally a fraction. It takes society to make whole. St. John thought so, and St. John was simply thinking God's thoughts over after him. Much as we may have to do with the individual,—and that is not to be made light of either,—the supreme passion of human love, and the supreme vigor of human power, must throw themselves out upon men as they are livingly associated and vitally interrelated. Not only do *men* need to be born again, but the relations subsisting between them need to be born again. It takes a good deal of grace to be a good man all by one's self, but nowhere nearly as much as it does to be a good man with another man alongside of you; and the more of them there are the greater the strain. It is the crowded areas, therefore, the points at which men in their organic relations rub most solidly on each other, that have the first claim and that make the severest demand upon Christianity and upon the men who stand for it.

St. Paul thought so, and the Book of the Acts is the record primarily of what was done in the large towns. Cities are determinative. They are the ganglionic centres of modern civilization. Convert Chicago and you will have all Illinois on the anxious seat.

And everything is tending to *become* city. We say of cattle that they are gregarious; we say of men that they have an urban instinct. Two forms of the same thing. Oxen like to graze together, so do men. At present rates of condensation in population the country (as opposed to the city) pretty soon will not be much more than a zero, whose prime function it is to multiply by ten the integer that it stands alongside of. In 1790 *three* out of every hundred of the population of this country were resident in towns of 8000 and upwards; in 1890 *twenty-nine* out of every hundred. So that it is clear where we have got to put our work. If Christians and the churches are not equal to the task of routing the devil in the cities, there is no use in praying "Thy kingdom come" on the Fourth of July. That is the problem, then, that we have to front. You can call it the problem of corrupt municipal politics, or the problem of municipal sensuality, or the problem of the municipal saloon evil. I would call it the problem of the devil in the large towns.

And let it be said just at this point of the discussion that we have not come clear out here to Chicago to whine. If a Christian has not confidence enough in God and in the competency of the law and the gospel to see a clear and a sure track in front of him, he would better go into some other business. The debauched condition of municipal politics merely happens to be the card which the devil is laying down just at this stage in the game. It is a Christian's originary privilege and obligation to keep in good spirits. A man who believes in the Lord and has good digestion has no business to be pessimistic. So we have prepared this paper, not because we are discouraged, but because we are so cheerful.

Nevertheless things are municipally in bad shape. They are so here, they are so in New York and Brooklyn, they are so in every town of any considerable size throughout the length and breadth of the United States. Now what are we Christians and Christian churches going to do about it? Of course the most thorough and fundamental work we can do is to carry the gospel

of Jesus Christ into the thick of our municipal populations. I do not say carry it to the "masses." I hate that word "masses." It is not a Bible word nor a Christ word. There is not a suggestion of the fine flavor of gospel sentiment in it. We have got to carry the gospel to the men, women, and children that live in the unfortunate portions of our cities. The moral average of the people has got to be raised before the morality of the municipal corporation can be raised as reflected in its politics and its local usages and statutes. The first grand step that the churches in any of our towns can take, looking to improved municipal conditions, is to quit fooling and to quit rowing, and to put themselves into personal touch with people who sustain bad government for the reason that they do not know the law of God or the love of Christ. Speaking now for my own town only, there is nothing in any large way that deserves to be called contact between our churched sanctification and our unhoused depravity. The leaven is in the attic and the meal is down cellar. The meal remains meal, and the desiccated yeast-cakes coddle each other. With us when a church finds itself in a difficult neighborhood it skips. In the first ages of the church the Christians used to run after the heathen, but now they run away from them. There is a great deal for a true church to do besides making sure of the salvation of the elect and collecting the pew-rents. It is important to save men into the New Jerusalem, but it is a good deal more to the purpose to make them fit to be citizens in the Jerusalems that we have already on our hands. This is not said in the interest of city missions *per se*. That is a matter that occupies another place in your programme. We are thinking exclusively of an improved municipal condition and of Christianity as the one principal means of arriving at it, and of the Christian church as the institution divinely appointed to avail of that means to that end. We are not talking in the interests of saints, but in the interests of citizens that are worth being called such and fit to enjoy civil prerogatives. See how this thing works. A man comes into your community or mine from the other side of the water. He knows nothing about statescraft unless he is an Irishman, and then he certainly doesn't. Ninety-five cases out of a hundred he comes here, not with any set purpose to work mischief, but to make a living. Now in the immense majority of cases, whether that new-comer proves a blessing or a curse to his city will de-

pend upon who gets hold of him first, the devil or the church,—or, to apply it to my own town, Tammany or the church. They are going to ally themselves with those who first ally themselves with them. Now every man who watches these things knows that the man who speaks first is the political manager or the heeler, or the presiding genius of the groggery or the dive. In that way confidence is captured. The ward politician becomes his mentor. The only political duty he knows, the only civic obligation he dreams of, is what he acquires under the discipline of the caucus-room and the saloon. The saloon is his civic church and his municipal Sunday-school. The church of Christ is nowhere, and the city missionary gets left every blessed time. The pothouse-politician cares more for his vote than the church cares either for his vote or for his soul. I have thought sometimes that if you could take one of these seasoned old ward-politicians, thoroughly convert him to Jesus Christ, then establish a chair in one of our theological seminaries, ripping out some of the stuff that is there now,—a chair whose function it should be to teach unfledged divines in methods of gaining an evangelical grip on community,—and then put your regenerated and sanctified pothouse man in the chair, you would be on the verge of results that would electrify the country. Efficient *political* method means every man looked after. That is the way Tammany wins, and I admire her for it. There is no lumping in politics. There are no "masses" to the man who is running for alderman. Every man has his political latitude and longitude calculated and verified. The managers do not erect their rendezvous on the back-bone of the town, meet at solemn and stated intervals to pray that light may break upon the benighted denizens of the down-town wards. They do not pray that the light may break; they go and break it, *in propria persona*. Every man is a field to be tilled; as much so as though he were the only field there were. Now if the church is going to fulfil its obligations in this matter of a clean city government it has got to go to work on those principles. There is no fancy method and no short cut. No matter how long it is postponed, it has got to be come to. Man has got to meet man. No diffused perfume till the stopper has been withdrawn. We are not intending to inflect human responsibility in a way to make God's agency appear questionable or insignificant. The truth of the absolute sovereignty of God in these matters, and the certainty that his purpose is all

going to be fulfilled some time, is one of the most inspiriting of considerations or one of the most paralyzing, just according to the way you take it. But after all due calculation has been made for God's sufficiency he never, so far as we know, has done anything in history, and he never, so far as we have a right to expect, will do anything in history, except so fast as a man or as men appear who fit the situation. In that sense humanity determines omnipotence. Wherever anything has transpired, whether in moral or Christian history, or anywhere else, you look sharp and you will find that there has been a man there. That is the meaning of this convention, that God is ready when we are ready, and that it takes God and man both to answer a man's prayer. We are interested to discuss these problems, not because of the meatiness of the problems, but because something is going to be said that will put some man, some concrete man, in an attitude that will render possible the letting loose of a fresh access of divine omnipotence. We stand for effects and for results. This Chicago convention is going to help answer the municipal question because it is going to wake up somebody to the urgency of the situation and to the consciousness of having lodged in him a God-given faculty that *matches* him to the exigency.

In the next place let me spend a moment in emphasizing the fact that in order to be able as Christians to confront the situation with effect we shall be obliged to push to the front the muscular as well as the nerve side of Christianity. I mean by that, Christianity in its incorrigible as well as in its affectional aspects. We must remember that the cross of Christ stands for the infinite stubbornness of God as well as for his ineffable mercy. The hardest thing a man ever does is to obey, and he is never a man till he comes to it. What I feel that we are most sadly lacking in very much of our Christian preaching and Christian living is gristle. Conscience, by which I mean an axiomatic respect for that which is morally posited, has wrapped in all the possibilities of religion. No matter how high you may carry your piety, conscience is the only thing that will keep the top reach of it plumb. Mt. Calvary does not repeal Mt. Sinai. Men are not respecting law. They are governed by what they read into the law, not by what they read out of it. That is a feature of our times. It has never been more conspicuously manifest than during the last six months. In an increasingly large class of community criminality

makes candidacy for political preferment, not destroys candidacy. Maynard would never have been nominated to his proposed position in the state of New York except for the service he rendered and the celebrity he acquired in his capacity as a deep-dyed rascal. One of the largest positions of responsibility in my own town is held to-day by a confessed murderer: and he is the bosom friend of the man who goes about with New York City in his vest-pocket. This audience does not need to be told that not a great while ago the governor of a state pardoned a brace of criminals that had been convicted by due process of law of a thrust at the very vitals and existence of government, and convicted without any peradventure of mistake. That is to say, the state, through its official head, informed the world that there was no difference worth remarking between what is right and what is not right, between loyalty and treason. Now that position is the very own mother of all anarchy. It is the bread that anarchy fattens on. The genius of anarchy is the obliviousness of the difference between what is right and what isn't. In New York City there is not a crime but what has its price, precisely as much as in the old indulgence period of the Catholic Church. That is to say, that the administration of the greatest city in this new continent which is to determine the world's history—and by administration I mean that junto of cut-throats, whiskey-guzzlers, harlot-keepers, and dive-manipulators beneath whose nasty heel our city is grovelling—announces to the public that there is no such difference between what is right and what is wrong that a dollar, if there are enough of them, will not suffice to neutralize the discrepancy. Now, friends, this condition of things is eating into the very marrow of moral personality. It is gnawing the stuff that manhood is built of. It is obliterating the distinctions that make human society possible, and that lie at the basis of all reasonable expectations of a secure and wholesome national future. Well, what are we going to do about it? What are we going to do about it? When we see a wicked head, smite it—smite it till it is sore; and when we see that it is sore, smite it some more till it is sorer. We will remember the tears that the Lord shed over Jerusalem, but we will remember too the small cords with which he scourged out of the temple the knaves who were trying to convert piety and decency into shekels. What community needs is moral tone, a ringing reverberation that is clear up to

concert pitch. A man never knows, a villain himself never knows how villainous he is, till moral music is played into his ears two octaves above his own grovelling bass; and if he tries to smash your instrument, catch your breath and give it to him eight notes farther up.

It is always a privilege, as to-day, to speak of these matters under the auspices of church organization, using the word church in its broadest and richest intention. Such concerns and obligations need to be distinctly adopted into the domain of Christian *service*. Our relations to our town are to be viewed as a constituent part of our Christian life: and that whether we are clergymen or laymen. We never get quite a solid grip on matters till every square inch of ground we tread on comes to be apostolically recognized by us as missionary ground. This quartering life off into lay and clerical, religious and secular, does not go to the core of the Christian matter. There is no man big enough to warrant his going at a thing in any such quarter-section kind of way. There will be a great deal that is cheerful in the condition of things when the time comes that a young man, on becoming a Christian and asking his pastor what Christian work he can do, is not limited in his choice of occupation to teaching in Sunday-school, visiting the sick, and conducting neighborhood prayer-meetings; the time, I mean, when such a man can feel that Christian work is not a matter of what you do but of what you are doing it for, or, rather, of Whom you are doing it for—spelling the Whom with a big "W." This having four sets of books, and entering one order of behavior in the "clerical" account, and another in the "lay," and a third and fourth in the "secular" and the "religious," is feeble dilettanteism, it isn't business. Which leads me on to say that one very substantial and practical service which the church has to render in the line of municipal betterment is to develop in Christians, as such, a civic consciousness; to teach the citizen to have at once a sense of his Lord and a sense of his city. It is as much the duty of a Christian to love his town as it is to love his God; and as much his duty to serve his town as to serve his God. Indeed, it is doubtless the fact in certain cases that serving his town is the one species of apostolic service for which he has been divinely cut out. To an American the Stars and Stripes ought to be as actually a part of his religion as the Sermon on the

Mount. Other things being equal, it is as urgently the obligation of a Christian to go to the polls on election-day as it is for him to go to the Lord's table on communion-day. The old Hebrew never thought of religion and patriotism as in any manner distinct from each other. Serving his country was serving Jehovah. The mass of civic virtue is not sufficiently instinct with Christian nerve to make it safe to be counted on for solid and chronic effects. What a wicked man will do on election day you can tell. What a good man will do you can't tell; it wouldn't be surprising if he didn't do anything. It is a singular fact that goodness cannot be trusted so confidently as depravity can to do what is expected of it. It is not so reliable. It takes a larger consideration to prevent a bad man from casting his ballot for the rum and brothel ticket than it does to prevent a good man from voting against them. Average decency is not so much in earnest as average profligacy. Elections in state and city are very likely to turn on the weather. Singularly enough, a watery day is apt to mean a rum government. Respectability looks at the barometer before it steps out of doors. Decency is afraid of taking cold. Piety doesn't like to get its feet wet. Wickedness is amphibious, and thrives in any element or in no element. Vice is a good deal spryer than virtue, has more staying power, and can work longer without getting out of breath and going off on a half-holiday. I wish there were some way in which we could make civic virtue and devotion to municipal life of the town part of our creed,—not the Apostles' Creed,—I do not mean that: it is too late for that; and I do not know as our Episcopal brethren would care to have it incorporated with the Thirty-nine Articles. And as to the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, you know there is a strict biblical ordinance against putting modern liquor into archæological bottles. My only thought is that it would at once put Christian integrity into a position of immense power in determining municipal event if in the pulpit, the home, and the Sunday-school we were to commence concertedly to treat such civic duties as attending the primaries, going to the polls even if it rains, accepting official position even if it is repugnant to you, and sitting on the jury even if it interferes with your business—if we were to treat such duties as these as distinctly comprised within the domain of Christian obligation.

Now to put ourselves in the sort of attitude implied in the

foregoing means warfare from the start. The only righteous peace that we can look for upon this planet is to come by conquering a peace. It is not the number of good people in the world, it is not the number of good citizens in a city, that determines either the history of the world or the ethical character of a municipal administration. What determines is the amount of integrity that is so uncompromising and incorrigible that there will of necessity ensue a collision with the powers of this world. The only route to peace is over the highway of warfare. The apostle who has done the most to bring nearer to us the day of the Lord is the one whose life bore the nearest resemblance to a Napoleonic campaign, and whose very sentences and metaphors were most suggestive of the battlefield and the rattle of artillery: all of which is rendered possible by two facts,—St. Paul's passionate love for human souls, and his ineffable loathing for human sin. "I came not to send peace, but a sword," said the Lord; and with us as with the Lord, the passion of affection is not going to dull the sharpness of the duel. It is no more possible to stand up in the presence of community and speak the truth in cold monosyllables to-day than it was two thousand years ago. Wicked people prate about the duty of Christians to deal with sinners in a manner of Christly gentleness, nor can we over-emphasize that duty; but the fact to be remembered is that Christ, notwithstanding the infinitude of his tenderness, convicted the world of sin, and because he convicted men they hated him, and because they hated him they killed him, and they would kill him now. Human nature is just exactly what it was two thousand years ago. There is not so much wickedness now as there was then, but what there is is just as wicked and just as malignant. If a man butts his head against the wall he may be able to do a little something toward weakening the wall, but it will be certain to give him the headache. And what is wanted is the evangelized robustness that shall qualify a man to face existing conditions, to exhibit them in honest portraiture and then amuse himself by picking the shot out of his skin. I believe that the one tremendous prerequisite for coping successfully with the hostile energies that threaten municipal civilization is sanctified grit. Men are afraid. This is a matter that has been burned into my soul. I have had *anonymous* sympathy enough to back a reformatory expedition to the planet Mars. There are men in my

town—I could give you their names right here, and you would recognize some of the names too—who in their instincts and in their prayers—that is, their closet prayers—are thoroughly with us in the attempt to crush the particular form of municipal iniquity—complicity between the police and the criminals—against which the Society for the Prevention of Crime in my city stands arrayed, and yet men who would no more stand up and be counted with the movement than they would fire a powder-magazine in their own cellar. It is not because they are not good men; it is not because they do not give us their blessing,—after sundown. It is because they are scared! If they had lived in the old Hebrew days, a pretty kind of Daniel they would have made, wouldn't they? There would never have had to be any den of lions ordered for them, would there? They would have eaten of the king's meat ten times a day, with lunch between times. The matter that our thought needs to fasten itself to most concernedly is, not the strength of the enemy's guns, but the rotten stone and mean mortar that so often gets built into our own fortifications. The strength of a cause under God is the number of people who plant themselves down, flat-footed and square-toed, on distinct moral ground, in burning love to men, in consuming loyalty to God, and with a prophetic grip on the great years that are coming. If the criticism is hurled back at us by flaccid piety and knock-kneed integrity that this style of appeal lies suspiciously close to the tone of old Puritanism, all I care to say is, would to Almighty God we had about ten thousand Puritan thoroughbreds scattered all the way from Chicago to Manhattan Island! There would be a shock in our social, our religious, our national, and our municipal life that would send off divergent lines of earthquake to the four quarters, and set the ground quivering clear through to China.

Now the half-hour that has been allowed to me I have not spent in particularizing the municipal disorders that menace us and that make their demand upon us. Men who are alive to the times (and they are the only ones that are worth a rap in the way of correcting them) know them without my delineation, and it is the men who *are* alive to them, and alive with an anxiety made out of passion and pertinacity, that will have to be looked to for their deliverance. There are people in every community, especially those who are members of whichever political party happens for

the moment to be out of business, who have acute and retching attacks of municipal reform every year, just about the time the leaves turn. You may spell a man Republican or spell him Democrat; a man is not to be counted on if he is subject to fits, even if it is fits of virtue. The only men whose effects can be planted down and confidently built upon are the ones who fasten upon these things with a grip that has in it a fibre of adhesiveness and deathlessness; and motive-pressure of that quality is not made out of ambition, nor out of consideration of bread and butter; and it is because I know that the only material that can compose such motive-pressure is the old Hebrew fear of Jehovah coupled with the new gospel love of Christ and man, that I am absolutely confident in my conviction that it is the church of the living God that has got to take up this matter and put it through. We trust it will be one of the efforts of this convention of the Alliance, not to make us less heavenly, but to make us a good deal more earthly, and to give us that appreciation of the intention of Christ that shall cause us to regard all ground as holy ground, every service as Christian service if done for him, and every department of life a claimant upon our holiest power of passion and endeavor.

THE CHURCH AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D., Director of the School of Economics, Political Science, and History, in the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

The one solid foundation of the labor movement is religion. All other foundations are but shifting sands. The one secure ark of religion is the church, and the church rests upon the carpenter of Nazareth; the supreme Reformer, the Savior of society; the Chief who ministered to his followers; the King who sought not reward but sacrifice; the strong Man who used his strength not for self-aggrandizement but for double burden-bearing, carrying his own load and the load of the weak; the Altruist of altruists, but one who never forgot what was due to his own personality and whose dignity shines out conspicuous like a luminary through all the dark ages.

The church is misunderstood, as well by professed friend as by avowed foe. She is confounded with ecclesiasticism. The church in reality is the organization of true believers, and true belief is belief in a life of righteous social relations. Dogma is but the means to an end. Dogma is not religion. Men have quarrelled and fought over dogma, and dogma has been the cause of endless schism, persecution, and bloodshed. Fruitless attempts to secure unity in theological metaphysics have been confounded with the true life of the church, whereas these attempts have too often been the excrescences of disease. While men have been saving their own souls and have been pushing shoulder to shoulder for the emancipation of mankind from wrong and cruelty, they have not been shedding one another's blood.

The church may well give this message to the wage-earners: "Workingmen, distinguish between the true and the false, for the true church is your only sure hope. Those who are leading the Christ-life constitute the church, and the Christ-life consists in imitation of Christ, not merely in relation to his Father in

heaven—on which, to be sure, it all rests—but also in his ceaseless endeavors to establish all social relations upon a basis of love. His true followers work like him to accomplish his purpose. And how can there be doubt concerning his true purpose when he declared it in plain words at the very outset of his ministry? Remember how he told us that he came "to preach the gospel to the poor, . . . to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

When we call to mind the fact that the "acceptable year of the Lord" may well be taken to refer to that great economic institution, the year of the jubilee, in which debts were forgiven, the land restored to the poor, and the slave set free, who would not say that we have in Christ's statement of his mission likewise a magnificent description of the heart-purpose of the labor movement? What do we want in the labor movement but life—life—more life—aye, even fulness of life! What are the abuses of which we complain but deprivation of life, restriction of life, the cutting down and narrowing of the sphere of life? If the labor movement in its purpose is finally successful, it must involve the conception in theory and practice of a lofty ethical system. But we know that an ethical system consisting of abstractions has not sufficient power to move the hearts of men. When we examine human history thoughtfully, we are forced to declare that outside of religion there can be no positive source and sanction for such an ethical system as we need, for this is one which will not command the assent of the masses of mankind and compel their action. So far as humanity at large is concerned, an ethical system by itself, however beautiful, is something concerning which there must be never-ending doubts and disputes. If, however, we accept Christianity, we can have no doubt in regard to the acceptance with it of an ethical system whose main feature is benevolence. When we subject the development of ethical thought to critical examination, we must admit that Christianity added to ethics universal, all-inclusive benevolence. Classical antiquity knows no nobler figures than Plato and Aristotle—and in the opinion of these truly great men the wage-earner was not fit for citizenship. Even the independent craftsman was held to be so degraded by his toil that he was not worthy to cast a vote.

Christ came into a world whose leaders accepted a philosophy of this kind and proclaimed a kingdom with universal citizenship, calling about him as his chosen disciples humble toilers. This does not mean the equality of all men or their actual fitness for citizenship in this kingdom. Indeed, Christ established high qualifications for citizenship—higher than otherwise have ever before or since been required in any kingdom or commonwealth. But he did teach that in all there resided a potential citizenship.

It is of supreme importance that those interested in the labor movement should understand fully the immense advantage which Christianity gives to social reformers. We find, as a matter of fact, Christianity professed more or less sincerely by millions of men. It is possible to go before these men and say: "You accept the ethics of Christianity; you acknowledge even the most distant and remote needy person to be your neighbor, whom you should love as yourself, and if you would be honest with yourself you must carry into all the details of your life the application of universal benevolence. Either do this or acknowledge frankly that you abandon Christianity as the dream of an enthusiast who lived some two thousand years ago." The point should be clearly grasped. Apart from Christianity, it does not appear plain why I should love all men and try to promote their welfare. Fraternity may become a mere matter of taste, about which controversies may never terminate. It can be asserted, as it has been by a learned writer, that "Men are not brothers at all; or only under qualifications which make the assertion of their fraternity unimportant."

As Christians we may say that we are agreed as to these fundamental things about which there may be otherwise controversy. We do not argue about them, but we attempt to find out what they mean in our life, not only on Sunday but every day in the week, in the family and in the market-place. We have had laid down, by one whose authority we must recognize or renounce Christianity, the conditions of blessing, including love for all men, and also the conditions of condemnation, including neglect of social duties.

But we have not merely the ethical system, the acceptance of which can alone make possible the success of the labor movement. We have also a Leader and Guide—a living personality who is a source of strength in the difficulties which ensue when

we attempt to put universal benevolence into our conduct. We have in this leader a goal of social evolution, and experience would seem to demonstrate the uselessness of attempting to direct the unruly wills and passions of men without presenting to them a personality whom they can follow. Each religion, therefore, responds to their universal need by placing before men some one who must be their savior, whether he be Buddha, Christ, or Mahomet.

A survey of the labor movement shows that one of the chief obstacles in its progress has been frequent betrayal of trust, and I would say to the wage-earners who are carrying forward this movement: "How, without such help as you may derive from such an organization as the church, can you expect to secure fidelity in those who claim to serve you?" It is acknowledged, it may be remembered in this connection, even by those who deny the sufficiency of the church for the salvation of society, that it has been at least tolerably successful in its work of individual salvation among those who profess allegiance to it.

Karl Marx, who stands higher than any one else in the social democracy, tells workingmen that they must work out their own salvation alone and unaided by others, and since his day wage-earners have been warned not to seek help from those whose economic and social position may be regarded as more fortunate than their own. These prophets of social democracy unite with the political democrats in teaching the equality of men, and in this they are radically wrong. The false doctrine of equality without support in the actual facts of life has perhaps done as much as anything else to injure the prospects of popular movements. The gospel message, it would seem to me, as well as the gospel of common-sense, is not liberty, equality, and fraternity, but authority, inequality, and fraternity. Whatever may be the cause, and however much we may in some respects regret it, the truth is that the inequalities among men in character and capacity are simply marvellous. The ordinary wage-earner feels and shows that he feels the need of superior leadership. He is looking about and crying out for true leadership. He desires the help of those who are wiser and stronger than he is himself. Inequality is in the Bible from beginning to end accepted as a fact; but the superiors in strength are enjoined to use their superiority not for themselves but for others, following the example

of Christ. When the inequalities among men are frankly acknowledged, the duty of those who are favored by the differences among men becomes apparent. The proudly-strutting, self-made man, who thinks any one of his workingmen might like him make a million if he only would, is encouraged by the false doctrine of equality to assume a hard and unsympathetic attitude with respect to the aspirations of the toiling masses. But he is in reality a pagan and not a Christian.

The anarchists are right in claiming that God is the true source of authority. Without authority we can have no social order and no progress in material civilization. Authority exists as a matter of fact, and it finds its seat in government or in private property. But it becomes first fully conscious of its responsibility in recognition of its true source in God and in acceptance of the Christian view of authority as a social trust.

It appears to be always in order in an address of this kind to urge on the ground of policy the cultured and wealthy to assist their less fortunate fellows in attaining at least a minimum amount of improvement in their conditions. There are, indeed, reasons of policy sufficient to induce general action. That the situation is one involving danger and very great danger to the favored classes in the future, provided considerable changes in government and industry do not take place, cannot in my own opinion be denied. It seems to me indeed that a denial implies a failure to apprehend the nature and force of the social movements which have taken place during the past generation. But it is idle to hope to secure action on the ground of mere policy. Cold policy will never suffice, because cold policy will fail to recognize the relative truth in the programmes and platforms of those who are denounced by wealth and culture as extremists. Moreover cold policy will lack insight which would lead to action in time.

Calamity can only be averted by men who have genuine love for the masses and who are willing to become leaders of the sort who bear double burdens; kings of the kind praised by Ruskin, who do the hardest work, thinking little about remuneration, perhaps taking what is left after the others have been satisfied. Life for the masses must make men more or less radical, but the true church will guard against the excesses to which love might lead, because the true church has not only love

but learning. She should indeed be armed with the accumulated knowledge of the ages. Culture alone is proverbially selfish and unprogressive. It is unsympathetic and sides with the powerful. But it is the mission of the church to guard against this by combining with learning ardor.

We have always in mind an ideal. Naturally the church, so called, in its actual existence among men is frequently far away enough from the ideal. All too generally, the church lacks both love and the special social knowledge required by the present situation. Yet what there is of discreet zeal is still largely in the church and is stimulated by the church.

It has been observed that the stronger classes in the community capture useful social institutions. It has indeed been claimed by the president of an American college that Oxford and Cambridge universities were founded for poor boys, but were so successfully captured by the rich that at last it took an Act of Parliament to secure admission for a poor boy. Whether this is exact historical truth or not, it illustrates a frequent movement. Workingmen of sense will all acknowledge that the church is a tremendous social power. But because they see her used frequently by those opposed to them, they are inclined to desert her and surrender her entirely to the service of those whom they call their enemies. How much wiser it would be for the wage-earners to endeavor to divert into right channels this vast social power!

I would oppose to the war-cry of Karl Marx another, namely: Workingmen of all lands, find freedom in the service of Christ! Workingmen of all lands, capture the church!

A SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF CHARITY.

By Rev. H. L. Wayland, D.D., of Philadelphia.

The significant words in the statement of the subject I shall use in a large sense, employing the word *scientific* as including *all knowledge*, and the word *charity* as meaning the right sentiment and the right action toward all our fellow-men, especially toward dependents (not at present including the children of the rich), defectives in mind or body (so recognized by the law), and delinquents (including for our present consideration only those whose crimes are so small as to bring them within the reach of the law; those who steal railroad systems and states will no doubt be considered by some other speaker). My thesis may be thus stated:

There is need of knowledge and wisdom and of the organization of the facts in order that we may wisely administer charity.

According to the old view, all that was necessary for charity was a warm heart and an open hand. The one duty was to *give*, without stint and without question; heart, affection, was everything. If one undertook to counsel a mother as to the health or management of her children, the one unanswerable reply was: "Ought not I to know? Am I not the child's mother?"

At the outbreak of the war for liberty and union it was currently supposed that the one requisite for the soldier was enthusiasm, patriotism; for a time the Union army was an assembly of town-meetings without any moderator. It was not until this notion was outgrown that we entered on the course which ended at Appomattox.

The new charity realizes that nowhere in the world are knowledge and wisdom more needed than in the effort to benefit our fellow-men, and especially to lift up those who have fallen. In the wise words of my friend and former pupil, Dr. Henderson, in his invaluable volume on "Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents," "He who imagines that any amiable impulse will answer for science is sure to blunder."

The need of a full knowledge is suggested by the dimensions of the problem. According as they make the territory covered by their classifications more or less extensive, statisticians put the number of dependents, defectives, and delinquents in America higher or lower. Some put them at half a million; while Mr. Charles D. Kellogg estimates that 3,000,000 have been supported, in whole or in part, by the United States in any one year; Mr. McCulloch (in whose untimely death every good cause in America, and especially organized charity, met a great loss) estimates the actual cost (I think he means of pauperism) at $50,000,000 in maintenance and $50,000.000 in loss of productive power—certainly a moderate estimate. Mr. Round reckons the cost of the criminal class alone in America at from $300,000,000 to $400,000,000 annually. This loss, even were it doubled, might be borne, if it simply represented so much property consumed by fire or sunk in the ocean. It is because it represents so much moral bankruptcy, so much degradation, a degradation which is ever perpetuating and multiplying itself, that we stand appalled.

And the problems are complicated. In the simple state of society, where every one earns his living by his daily labor, the problems of life are solved by a very little kindness and thought. In the early history of a nation, as in New England and Israel, there was no pauper class nor criminal class. There is only enough of suffering to keep the benevolent activities from rusting. I have lived in a village (which I have no doubt represented thousands of similar instances) where there was one family that needed charity, and they only in consequence of the drunkenness of the husband and father. But with the advance of wealth and luxury, with the growth of great cities, with the widening of the chasm between rich and poor, the problem becomes more and more paralyzing.

To feed people who want to be fed is easy; how to save people who *do not want* to be saved, how to lift people out of the gutter, the jail, and the tenement horror who prefer to stay there, this is a question.

Here as elsewhere it is very difficult to interpret statistics. They may indicate a cause or only a symptom. The same statistics may be favorable or unfavorable. If there are one hundred divorces in a year in Vermont and no divorces in Italy, it does not follow that morality is higher in Italy. Divorce is a symp-

tom of unsatisfactory domestic relations, often of lewdness; but also divorce is a tribute, however imperfect, to public sentiment; lamentable as it is that people should be divorced, this is perhaps better than that they should readjust their domestic relations without legal formalities. If there are a thousand executions this year more than last, this may imply that there are more murders, or it may simply imply that murders are more rigidly recognized and punished. That there is an increase in the number of insane may simply imply another definition of insanity and a more careful searching out of the cases of insanity.

The charity that is informed by wisdom looks first of all to *causes.* First among these causes, certainly in order of time, it finds ancestry; and closely allied with it, the surroundings, particularly during childhood.

Another cause is drink, upon which there is little need that I enlarge. The $1,000,000,000 directly spent each year for drink represents perhaps an equal amount in wages unearned, in defective work, in the expenses of courts and prisons and poor-houses and mad-houses, and these figures represent who can say how many broken hearts, devastated homes, wives worse than widowed, wives and children tortured and murdered, and a lineage poisoned and corrupted to the second and third generation.

A fourth cause lies in indolence, the hatred of honest work, the passion for getting a living at the expense of somebody else; a craving for the most fatal of all poisons, more deadly than the venom of the cobra, food that has not been earned. I have sometimes thought that the tree in the garden of Eden "whose mortal taste brought death into the world and all our woe" must have been the bread-fruit tree, and the fruit which it bore must have been bread which had not been earned by the sweat of labor. This hatred for honest labor finds expression in the love of gambling, in the fondness for the tramp-life, in theft and robbery, not seldom accentuated by murder.

And this desire for iniquitous acquisition and for a living at the expense of others is aggravated by the example and by the success of great criminals the largeness of whose depredations seems to exalt them into dignity and to lift them above the moral as above the civil and criminal law. The petty robber naturally looks with admiring but not necessarily despairing envy upon the wealthy and successful criminal who has his own country-seat,

his own yacht, his own judge, his own legislature, his own minister, his own statute-book, his own decalogue.

Another cause lies in ignorance; paupers and criminals come usually from among those who are masters of no industry. This ignorance comes largely from the decay of the apprenticeship and the unwillingness of the trades unions to have boys taught the trades; and so the boys stand on the corners and smoke, while foreign mechanics do the work at which our boys ought to be engaged. Ignorance of the laws of nature and of trade combines with the passionate desire for other people's property to give rise to communism and anarchy. With ignorance comes a lack of foresight, the failure to apprehend the power that lies in small accumulations securely invested and growing at a moderate interest.

Another cause lies in the low *morale*. There is a lack of courage, of resolution, an incapacity to overcome obstacles, a willingness to sit down and stay down, an absence of ambition, of resource, a lack of self-control, a disposition to sacrifice a large future for a small present. Where there should be the sense of duty, recognition of the supremacy of the idea of right and wrong, where there should be responsibility for the welfare of children, where there should be conscience, there is a vast void.

In what I have said, I have aimed to speak of the causes which lie within. I will turn for a few minutes to those causes which are external, which, however, derive their malign efficacy from the fact that they appeal to the bad or weak elements within.

An outward cause lies in the recurring panics and depressions. These join with the lack of resource, the lack of courage, the lack of hopefulness, to produce a permanently dependent class. Here come in also strikes and lockouts; here comes in the great coal strike now prevailing in England with calamitous results beyond our power to estimate. I express no opinion upon strikes. I have no doubt that they sometimes proceed from a conscientious conviction on the part of the striker, that they are sometimes the expression of outraged manhood and of sympathy for oppressed fellow-craftsmen; but unless managed with the wisdom which characterized the leaders of the dock strikes in London, they are liable to produce disastrous results. I

hardly need to speak of the combinations by which raw material is forced up to a price so high as to paralyze manufactures, or by which the product of the mines is arbitrarily limited, so that the man who would gladly work is deprived of labor and wages, and the man who could carry on his little industry if he had cheap coal is paralyzed, and the consumer all over the world has to pay a famine price. Of course, the sense of wrong and suffering which grows out of the low wages is deepened by the sight of the abounding and lavish luxury which perhaps represents the low wage and the industrial oppression.

A fruitful cause of pauperism and crime is blind charity. War or famine or pestilence cannot do so much harm as an ignorant kindly person who thinks he has a mission. It is so hard to persuade people that their hearts must take counsel with their heads. I suppose there is no crime more prevalent among respectable and even religious people than the crime of feeding tramps and beggars at the back door. Many a truly good woman has said to me, "I *will not* refuse to give food to people who are hungry." Just this kindly instinct keeps the tramp-class alive. The tramp is fed; he sleeps out of doors, or in the barn or the freight-car; presently we read with shuddering horror of an outrage upon some defenceless woman on a lonely road, or some innocent child, followed by murder: all track of the criminal is lacking; he has no habits, he has no resorts, no haunts; he spends the night where a passing impulse may lead him; he leaves no trace save the silent witness to the horrors of indiscriminate charity. I am aware of no greater enemy to human welfare than that impulse which masquerades under the name of "good nature." Good nature it is not. It is a very bad nature. It is a selfish love of ease, an indisposition to take trouble, an unwillingness to pronounce that difficult monosyllable "No," a total disregard of the welfare and the rights of those who may for the moment be out of sight. Bulwer in one of his novels represents a good-natured man as taking a morning walk in London. He good-naturedly recommends to a friend a servant; the result is that his friend is robbed by the servant with a narrow escape from murder. He gives a half-crown to a suppliant who had almost made up his mind to turn to honest work for a living, but who now is permanently enlisted in the army of mendicants; he has taken, not the queen's shilling, but the mendicant's shilling.

And so the good-natured man at the end of his morning walk has done more harm than if he had been the most remorseless and malevolent enemy of mankind.

Another cause is indiscriminate and unrestricted immigration; which brings among us a vast volume of ignorance, of poverty, of degradation, which reduces the wages of native-born American citizens to the starving point, and which affects for the worse our whole life, social, industrial, moral.

Another cause of the growth of the abnormal classes and of the demand for charity is bad politics. On this point, however, why should I say feebly and tediously what was said so bravely and strongly and brilliantly last evening by Dr. Parkhurst? Only I say that I do not wish to be counted among his *anonymous* supporters. However feeble my aid, it has not sought in darkness refuge from responsibility.

Again, any form of religion that presents to man false views of God, duty, and human responsibility must necessarily multiply pauperism and its progeny.

Lastly, under this list of causes (it is not the causes that are exhausted, but your patience) comes an inadequate conception of the sphere and the duty of government. We had in the earlier days an undue tendency toward a paternal government, but we have surely gone to the opposite extreme. We minimize the office of government; of such powers as we allow to government, we delay the exercise until the evil has become irreparable. We allow a man and woman to establish a manufactory of paupers, tramps, thieves, prostitutes, criminals, insane, diseased; when these have grown to be a fully-developed burden and curse, then we feebly interpose. We imprison the drunkard twenty-four hours or six days, and thus extirpate the last relics of self-respect, while leaving him utterly unhelped or worse. We sentence the habitual criminal to successive terms of one, two, three years; and every term makes him more the child of hell than before. We allow a tenement-house, a neighborhood, a ward, to become the festering hotbed of vice and disease; we allow every nation to pour its pestilential sewage into our reservoir; at last we so far arouse ourselves as to strain out the Mongolian gnat at the Golden Gate, while we open wide our mouth at the Narrows to swallow the Italian camel, the Polish dromedary,

the Hungarian elephant, and any other pachyderms that present themselves.

Charity informed by knowledge, having discovered some of the causes, looks intelligently and independently for a remedy. As to ancestry, it is not very easy to change the ancestry of the paupers and criminals of to-day, though we can attempt to arouse in them a spirit of resistance to their ancestry. We can teach them to say, "In spite of my ancestors, whether my remote simian ancestors in the forest or my more immediate degenerate pauper ancestors in the almshouse, I will make a new departure; I will be a man." And we can serve the coming generations by trying to correct to-day the ancestry of those who shall come after. We can largely change the surroundings of those who are growing up; surely the child who is born to-day, the child who will be born to-morrow, has rights, has a claim, may demand that we give him something like a fair start. Sometimes we can give the child a new home, sometimes we can make his present home a new one. In the church to which I belong is a family of very plain people; the father, a blacksmith, was a gutter drunkard till he was rescued by a mission. The wife, an unlettered woman, said in our prayer-meeting, "My home used to be a little hell; now it is a little heaven." This is what can be done and ought to be done for thousands upon thousands of homes. It will not be done by any single agency; it will be by the church, and the Salvation Army, and the state, and the individual, and society working through a thousand beneficent and elevating means.

As to the drink problem, in one sense nothing is more simple, in another sense nothing more complex and difficult. It is very easy to say, "Let us at once by constitutional prohibition make it impossible for the saloon and the drink habit to exist between Alaska and Florida." Oh, if it were only as easy to do as it is to say! Oh, if it were only easy to get 65,000,000 people to agree to what I want done! Alas that this is a republic in which we can do only that to which we can secure the assent of the majority! Alas that we are in a world where we have to do what we can, and not always what we would! We must study experience, the experience of all times and all lands. We must cultivate somewhat the spirit of Abraham Lincoln in politics; we must realize that it is better to succeed in the possible than to fail in the impossible. In war, not seldom it is found more

practicable to turn the enemy's flank than to carry a position by direct assault. The way that experience shows to be most efficient, that is the way we want to find.

We must reinforce morally those who are morally deficient. We must bring about under God that to which only the divine is adequate. We must re-create a moral nature. We must give out of our own hearts courage, duty, aspiration for themselves and for their children, self-respect, foresight, love of man, love of God. The penologist may indeed class many of these as "incorrigibles." So they are from this point of view; but I doubt whether the Christian should ever use this word "incorrigible." Our friends of the Salvation Army have a song, "The Cross is not greater than the Crown"; borrowing their spirit, shall we not say, "The guilt is not redder than the blood"?

Col. Ingersoll has said, "If I were to make a world, I would make *health* catching instead of *disease*." This is not the only instance where he is mistaken in the facts. Health is catching; goodness is contagious. A lady who established a ragged school in the very worst part of Philadelphia said to me, "When the mothers found that we thought their children worth caring for, then they began to care for them, and in time they became proud of them." One divine life has had in it health-giving power to regenerate a world.

Ignorance we must meet by its natural enemy, wisdom. We must teach people how to earn a living. It is a shame that a boy or girl should grow up among us, in whatever station, who is not possessed of some useful art by which to secure support. The dead-beyond-resurrection apprenticeship must be replaced by trade schools. Every city should have these as a part of its system of public education. The world will reckon among its great benefactors Col. Auchmuty, Mr. Drexel, Mr. Pratt, and Mr. Cooper, whom I especially name because they are no longer with us. We shall remove a great cause of the worst liability that can befall honest girls in the cities when every girl knows how to sweep a room, to care for a house, to cook a dinner, to make a dress, to do something which shall stand between her and death or worse. It will be a happy day when we can in our schools shed the long-outworn folly of grammar and spelling, and by rational methods of instruction can save time enough to teach every pupil, within the limited period that many of them

can attend school, something that will be of real, absolute, practical value.

We must infuse knowledge of economic principles. We must teach people what government can do and what government cannot do, that government cannot make fifty cents worth of silver equal a dollar. It can indeed tell a lie, and can add the infamy of hypocrisy by piously inscribing upon the face of its silver lie, "In God we trust;" but it cannot do the impossible, it cannot make a dollar out of half a dollar any more than it can make a man into a woman.

If men understood the laws of trade and industry there would be less delusion, less likelihood of strikes and lockouts; men would be able to defend themselves and to protect themselves without resort to violence, which always defeats its own object.

We shall remove an incentive to dishonesty when we execute the laws equally against all classes, when criminal law, like death, shall love a shining mark, when the man who has stolen a million acres of land, or who has wrecked an insurance company, or has defrauded a savings bank, or has engineered a swindling endowment company or a Western loan corporation, shall no longer be reckoned a Napoleon of finance, but shall contemplate nature from between the bars in a cell next to that of the gentleman who stole a horse.

We must provide a remedy for strikes, or rather a preventive, by instituting arbitration under the auspices of the government, an arbitration which shall not be optional, but which shall be *compulsory*, judicial, final. We must show men that honesty is wise, that the honest man has a better time than the criminal; we must awaken conscience, whose dictates shall be more imperial than the demands of passion and of sense, and whose authority shall be based upon the justice which finds a response in the moral nature of man.

We must cultivate the habit of frugality by providing a system of savings banks secure and accessible. I hope it will not forever be the reproach of America that she stands almost alone among civilized lands in not having introduced a postal savings-bank.

We must remove from the working people a sense of wrong and of oppression, which, along with ignorance and with frequent

despair and with the absence of any stake in the present state of things, is a fruitful parent of anarchy.

We must reform those mild, well-meaning, tender-hearted, sweet-voiced criminals who insist upon indulging in indiscriminate charity. I have forgotten who it was—perhaps it was a bishop in the Anglican Church, or perhaps a respectable Baptist minister—who, when approaching the close of his life, said, "I have committed many sins; but I have never given a sixpence to a street-beggar." How few can thus enjoy a conscience void of offence! Such blind, indiscriminate doles of bread and money as have taken place in this city by the lakes, and in other of our large cities, have been a crime and a blunder. The true charity is that which removes the need of charity.

We must in self-defence erect a barrier against indiscriminate immigration; no, not indiscriminate, rather the immigration is made up of chosen material, chosen by the European governments, which select their very worst and most repulsive material to deposit upon our shores. Only let us restrict immigration wisely, justly, with a regard to the guaranteed rights of all nations; let us do it at the dictate of conscience and common-sense, not at the dictate of the sand-lots of San Francisco.

There must be a new conception of the functions of government. We must cast off our old ideas. We must rid ourselves of that compound of ignorance, timidity, and selfishness which we call *conservatism*. We must not shrink from any measure because it is new.

We must consider the rights and the welfare of the whole, now perilled by the vicious indulgence and the misused liberty of the pauper and the criminal. We must adopt new measures for new exigencies; we must not hesitate to break up a family if that family is a curse. For crimes dictated by animal passion we must inflict a remedial penalty which shall remove at once the temptation and the capacity.

We must replace bad politics by good. Instead of a form of religion that boasts itself as a policing force and that vaunts its power to keep the ignorant and the lower classes in order, let us have a religion that shall so educate men that there will be less need of policing them; a religion that will *lift up* the lower classes so that they shall no longer be the lower classes. Let us change the surroundings of men and let us change, renew, re-create the

men themselves. And the church, the chapel, with their army of aids and helpers, are our chosen means, not remedial alone but preventive.

And we must do all under the sense of our responsibility to God who has entrusted to us the greatest opportunity of all times, and who will not excuse us if we, through timidity, or selfishness, or indolence, fail of the execution of the trust committed to us for the good of our own land and of the coming centuries.

Love informed by knowledge, knowledge infused by love, will be brave, persevering, resolute, resourceful, undiscouraged : it will set as its goal the removal from the earth of pauperism and crime, and the bringing of the human race into the perfect man, into the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.

Herein will lie the true glory of America, whose birthday we celebrate, and of the century in which we proudly live.

Will this goal be attained? If this is the devil's world, No. If it be God's world, Yes.

THE CHRISTIAN BASIS OF SOCIAL REFORM.

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Sociology has not yet become a science. The fatuity of all efforts to create a sociology has been the observance of physical phenomena apart from moral forces, and the worship of statistics. It has seemed quite enough to call a method scientific to make it authoritative to rule out of the court of serious inquiry any method confessing itself moral or religious in aim and origin. But no method is so wholly unscientific, or so wholly misses the facts, as that which confines the study of society to physical observation and statistical induction. The chief sociological fact is that human relations depend upon what people believe. Society is a growth; it is not made. It is a living organism rather than a structural organization, having its roots in the common faith. It is in belief that political institutions have their foundation and growth. The wealth of the world is the product of its religions, its distribution has been according to the principles men permitted to inspire their motives and rule their actions. Commerce, government, and civilization historically follow the path of those who seek righteousness. The chief economic factor of Europe in the twelfth century was the conscience of Bernard of Clairvaux. England's commercial supremacy of to-day is largely due to Cromwell's faith in the divine government of the world. What nature is, how it acts and what fruit it yields, depends upon what man is. Instead of climate making the man, as Taine and Spencer would have us assume, it would be quite as true to say that man makes the climate. Moral degradation violates nature and desolates the face of the earth, while moral growth makes the rocks and sands fruitful. It is not a prophetic rhapsody, but natural law, that perfect righteousness would cause the desert to literally blossom as a rose, and make the earth a garden of the Lord.

The field of sociology must be the faiths that form human character and the motives that govern human activity. Unless it be primarily a science of morals it cannot be a science of society. Sociology will become social science, not through confining itself to the discovery and exhibition of observable facts, but through the apprehension, interpretation, and application of ethical principles. When it attempts to be a science through the inductive study of social conditions and tabulation of social statistics, without making the faiths and unfaiths that have caused wrong conditions the main subject of study and correction, it becomes the conceit of ignorance and the pastime of folly. It is simply a confounding of the social confusion to gather facts without the clear light of moral principles by which to interpret the facts. Figures lie, and lie above all other media of human expression. Many will listen with interest to facts, quite as ready to believe erroneous statistics as true, where one will hear and obey the truth. By grounding society in right social faiths and laying the axe of truth at the roots of false social principles, by regenerating society with right social motives and leading it with right social visions, will sociology justify itself as a science. If we can get men to believe and practise the truth, and quit believing and practising lies, we have the witness of history that truth may be trusted to procure freedom and organize justice. The true sociology will be the science of right universal human relations. The perfect society will be the organ and manifestation of the unity of the life of the people with the life of God. Inspiration, not custom, will be the final guide of the social life.

The first work of social reform must be to find a basis of faith. Such a basis the Christian has. The person of Jesus is the revelation of the eternal foundations of society; the revelation of the social order in which God created and is perfecting the world. In the faith that man is the son of God, Jesus fulfilled all righteousness, under the worst human conditions. His character manifests the divine nature and overcoming power of our humanity, and proves that the world is grounded in right and not in evil. It witnesses that God has never surrendered the world to the dominion of evil, but has always ruled it in righteousness in spite of its self-will, and that at its worst it has not been the devil's world. It reveals that the powers of the universe, spiritual and natural, known and unknown, are the friends of man, work-

ing out his divine sonship; that selfishness does not belong to the nature of things, but is the anarchy of society and the negation of life. The right that was fulfilled in Christ is the might of nature and history, and is the vital force of society. Christ is what man has always been becoming, what man actually is. Faith in his right is the universal social foundation.

Jesus revealed a government, he organized a society, which he believed and taught would one day embrace the race. This government, this society, he called the kingdom of God, and laid down its constitution in the Sermon on the Mount,—which is a civil, economic, and political revelation. The law which was to rule and organize this society was love—not love as a benevolent sentiment, a feeling, but love as absolute law, the law of the life of God—the hardest man ever tried to obey. In the midst of the throne of Omnipotence, from which John saw the glory and authority of the universe proceeding, there was not an infinite despot ruling with irresponsible power, but a Lamb that has been slain, the divine almightiness manifesting itself in perfect sacrifice. By this single principle of sacrifice Christ interpreted the life of God, the life of men, and the method of natural growth and social justice. He made it clear, and the ages witness, that the justice procured through love and the right manifested in sacrifice are not the enemies of man, the foes of civilization, as Satan and the older political economists would have us think, but the saviors of men and the ground of civilization. He proved that sacrifice and not self-interest is universal law; that self-will is not the protector of man, but his tyrant and deceiver. He declared sacrifice to be the vital principle of faith and action, the social law which would establish perfect order in place of confusion; unity in place of division; peace in place of strife; brotherhood in place of competition; simplicity in place of complexity.

Jesus accomplished a redemption which comprehends the whole life of man. He satisfied humanity with God that he might satisfy God with humanity. The blood of the Lamb has overcome the world, and delivered it from the power of evil. The world is redeemed and Christ is its Lord. Expediency is now and evermore, as it always has been, the foolishness of history. Evil has no right in the world, and we have no business making terms with it, under whatever social or political guise it

demands our silence or obedience. To accept the authority of selfish principles is to fight against God, to make war with the blood of the Lamb. To adopt any other standard of right than that which is in Christ is to build upon a foundation which has no existence in fact, but which is the illusion of evil imaginations. The redemption of Christ is the foundation of the world. With this redemption history must reckon. From this standpoint the philosopher must think. In the light of this revelation the market must calculate. Upon this foundation politics must build. Upon this ground science and education must proceed. With this fact every consideration and work of man must begin. We dare not qualify Christ's authority, or amend his law of love, or consent that men shall proceed upon any other basis than the triumph of his right. Unto him has the government of the peoples been given. A new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness is the fruit of his sacrifice, and the revealed destiny of man. Through faith in the Son of man God built the world, and thereupon history proceeds to its goal in a race perfected in divine sonship. Upon this foundation Christianity moves on to its fulfillment in a history whose nations shall be governed by the immediate inspiration of God.

After the revelation of the kingdom of God in Christ, and the redemption of man from the dominion of evil, to hold communion with selfish customs and Christless opinions is to make terms with the devil. After the foundation of his right has been laid to build upon, and the manifestation of love as the governing power of the world, to accept evil as belonging to the nature of things is to make one's self a witness to horrible and blasphemous lies. After his exemplification of sacrifice as universal law, to assume that strife is the power of progress, and that only immediate self-interest can move men to the highest endeavor, is to bear the marks of the beast which John used to symbolize the worship of material forces and gains as the power and worth of life. It is the atheism of the world, a confession of faith in Satan as its lord, which asserts that the desire to acquire for one's self is essential to the largest enterprise and procurative of the widest civilization. It is the infidelity of Christendom to believe in other kinds of justice than the fellowship of the sacrifice of love. It is the apostasy of the church to acknowledge other bases for society than the right that is in Christ. So

long as men build upon foundations of moral unbelief, and act upon any other assumption than the right that was in Christ, they build upon the sands of social delusion. And their work shall be burned.

The love of Christ is natural law. It is the only law that can move man to the putting forth of all his powers in a progress that shall proceed without revolution, and procure a peace that shall fulfill the eternal government of the world in a human society which is a kingdom of heaven. The world waits for an apostolic interpretation of social organizations by the fact of God's revelation and redemption of men in Christ. Only as we read history in the light of this revelation, and base our institutions upon the foundation which this redemption has laid, does life become intelligible, and its civilizations have a meaning. And by faith in Christ as a perfect revelation of God and perfect revelation of man we have a sure foundation on which to build, and we know what the building must be. The foundation will not change, for the right in God and the right in man are the same, and the building we have here from God is eternal in the heavens. His right is henceforth the foundation of progress, and his love is its law. We have only to build upon this foundation and obey the law of the Cross, and the unity of God and man, of heaven and earth, will be realized in a society which shall be God manifest in the flesh.

No other law than the love of Christ can associate men in justice; no other force can organize human life in unity. Except a man take the slain Lamb into his heart, and ground his life in the right that is manifested in sacrifice, he cannot discern between justice and injustice. Until men work in obedience to the law of love, society will be a fiction and not a reality. The refusal of society to trust its activities to this law, and found its organizations on Christ's right, is the real anarchy that is gathering fuel for revolutionary fires that may some day burn our false systems to ashes. The consent of the church to the social rejection of Christ's principle of sacrifice as the fellowship and justice of life is the actual atheism whose destructive force God may yet use to bury our industrial absolutisms and social despotisms beneath the ruins of their thrones.

Though the social foundation of Jesus is as old as the love of God, it is still new, and Christianity is in the primary stages of

its development. Christendom has not yet apprehended the facts and forces of the Christian society. *The church does not stand for the kingdom of God and his Christ.* Savonarola and Calvin, Cromwell and the Pilgrims, with many faithful witnesses, have sought to realize the Christ-order of the world. But we still confess that its kingdoms and their glory belong to Satan. We worship God as Lord of other worlds, but the faith of society stands in the devil as lord of this world. We have not yet learned that the dominion of self-will is overthrown and the power of evil broken. We do not understand that Christ has overcome the world for God and man. We have not yet believed that a real atonement is made, and the world redeemed, so that sin is without excuse. We still build upon the faith that the world is grounded in unrighteousness and falsehood, and ruled by selfishness and strife. We continue to make systems that must perish, to rear structures for the dust, by building upon other foundations than the right that is in Christ; by building our temples of religion and justice out of other materials, by other patterns, than the wisdom of his love and the beauty of his truth. It matters nothing what our theological or economic systems may be, so long as we proceed with our work upon the assumption that the love and right of Christ are impossible of industrial and political realization. Upon this foundation of moral unreason and unfaith the sacredest institutions of religion and law and society but build for the confusion of the children of God. Until men get it clearly in their minds that this is God's world and not the devil's, that it is founded in sacrifice and not in selfishness, they will continue to make terms with the serpent of self-will, and the actualization of Christianity will be but a sorrowful dream. Until men see that covetousness and competition, cunning and falsehood, have never been profitable or wise, but are now and ever have been the waste and woe of life, the cause of hate and shame and want, they will continue to give glory to the devil, and put faith in lies as the providence of the world's material and intellectual blessings. So long as men reject the love of Christ as the wisdom and power which God has manifested for our guidance and government, they cannot think with reason or act with justice, and the kingdom of God will be a divine delusion.

Against this social infidelity to the gospel, this unbelief in the

kingdom of God, we are sent to witness a good confession of faith in Christ as the Lord and procurer of all that is permanent and vital in civilization. Prosperity has not come through obedience to selfish principles, but in spite of them. This world has always been the dominion of God's almighty love, and the cross is forever the throne of his authority and majesty. Falsehoods and despotisms, intrigues and expediencies, self-will and social caste, luxury and pride, never have ruled the world, and never can. To make men believe in their authority and power and glory has been the work of the tempter, the slanderer of God and deceiver of man, from the beginning, even until now. *The kingdom and the power and the glory are God's and not the devil's.* It is the love in which God reigns, and not the force by which unfaith and self-will think to reign, that holds the nations in their places. Behind the shadows which our moral unbelief has cast upon the glory of his providence, in spite of the self-will that has been bruising and deceiving the life of man, God has been working out the Christ-order of the world.

It is only to our moral blindness and unreason that the problems of society are complex. It is our self-deceit, our shrinking from implicit obedience to the law of love, our unfaith in the wisdom and power of that law, that keeps us in the fog of social doubt. It is a subtle dishonesty that cries for rules to regulate social details, rather than for principles to regenerate the social life and create a social organism. The problems of society, with all they involve, can be settled simply, orderly, wisely, and permanently, by Christendom honestly accepting Jesus as the living Savior and King of the actual life of man. Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, in recently speaking of the universal social revolution which he believes to be impending, said: "If the doctrines of Christianity which are found in the New Testament could be applied to human society, I believe the social problem could be got at." The adoption of the Sermon on the Mount as the constitution of society is the imperative which makes our day the most historic in opportunity since the Jews rejected the kingship of the Son of man. In its last analysis the reason the church hesitates to morally enforce the social doctrines of Jesus, while it distracts the world with disputes about metaphysics and definitions, is that it fears to pay the cost of being Christian. If we who say we believe in Christ would lift our eyes awhile from

ecclesiastical proprieties and material values, we might see the Son of man coming in the day of the church's visitation, and find the church in danger of the same attitude toward Jesus, in its relation to present problems and opportunities, as that of the Jewish temple in the day of its visitation.

To reform society is to Christ-form it. The execution of his love as the law of life is the social reformation, and there is no other. Upon no other basis than faith in Christ as the revelation of what man is becoming can we build with holy purpose; with faith of soul and joy of heart, and with a common understanding of what we are about. To deny the divine sonship of man in the light of Christ's revelation, to govern upon any other faith than that man is a son of God, is to be practically atheistic.

Through the incarnation of the eternal sacrifice, and spirit, and power of his love in the man Christ Jesus, God has witnessed to the divinity of our humanity and the humanity of his divinity, and the unity of all life in the heavens and upon the earth. God has not left us to our own devices, to be tossed to and fro upon uncertain doctrines of life, but has revealed what our life is, what its resources are, and given us in Christ a vision of its destiny. Our human life is not a failure, a mystery, a tragedy, a crying in the dark, but a psalm of hope, a progress along a plain path to a divine end, an eternal rise through the light. That which seems dark and tragic in our life, terrible and remorseless in the processes of nature, cruel and improvident in history, is beautiful and good, merciful and prophetic, orderly and connected when interpreted by faith in Christ as the destiny of man, the evolution of struggle, the crown of nature, the meaning of history, the fulfillment of life. We know whose children we are, what our work is, to what ideal of life we must conform. Though we are conceived in sin, our Father has not left us in the dust, nor taken his Holy Spirit from us, but has manifested his mightiest powers in the redemption of our world. If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we shall have the fellowship of a divine society, and the blood of Jesus, his Son, will cleanse us from all sin.

The foundations of society are hid with Christ in God, and yet they are being manifested in the glory of the larger social faith in Christ that is both restraining and purifying the almost universal passion for justice and brotherhood. There has been a wide diffusion of Christianity at the expense of its quality; but now

its life is about to be renewed and empowered. We are in the beginnings of a new redemption of the earth through the application of Christianity to life. Society is being sprinkled with the blood of Jesus. Every school of thought is feeling the pressure of a new and universal dispensation of moral energy. From Westminster Abbey to the forests of Africa, from the Roman Vatican to the mining camps of Western America, men are feeling the pain and expectation of a new social order, though what it shall be does not yet appear. "We have arrived," as Mazzini once said, "at one of those supreme moments in which one world is destroyed and another is created." He that stood at the door of the churches to which the beloved apostle ministered stands at the door of the church of to-day and knocks for admission, that he may come in and commune with us in a festival of life, whereby we may receive strength and faith to keep the word of his patience in the hour of trial which is to purge the earth for the coming down of the city of God out of heaven.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY.

By Professor Henry Drummond, F.R.S.E., F.G.S.,
Glasgow, Scotland.

Mr. Dodge, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have too much humor to allow me to trouble you with any lengthened address at this late hour of the evening. I had anticipated that the subject on which I was to speak to-night was "The Church and the Evolution of Christianity," on which I had something to say. But I found that I had probably made a mistake in announcing the subject to the Secretary, and that I had been put down for the previous question, "Christianity and the Evolution of Society." And I further find that in that theme I have been anticipated by a great many speakers in this Congress, and notably by the two important addresses which we have had already this evening. I shall therefore only make a single point or two, of an exceedingly elementary kind, and you may be quite sure that I shall not make any allusions to the two points which my humorous colleague who has just sat down has referred to—our "simian ancestry" and "primordial germs."

It was once supposed to be the object of the Christian religion to save a few select souls, to gather a chosen number from all the nations of the world, and pass them into heaven, leaving the world to look after its own affairs, to decay or fall, work out its gloomy destiny to the bitter end. That the world was to be wrecked or to go to pieces was a sincere conviction; and while every effort was made to save individual men—to save them, that is their souls, for another life and a better land—this poor old world itself was to be let alone, and all the multitudinous activities of those who sought to make it adequate to life, to elevate it, to beautify it, to make it a worthy home for worthy men, were classed as so much waste. To expect any great change there was to expect the resurrection of the dead. To beautify such a world was to put ornaments on a coffin.

But all this is changed. The world is no longer looked at as a mere matrix from which the good are to be separated out for a future service, but as itself, and in all its interests, the object of redemption. The one thing that is to be saved, that is to say, is this world—this Chicago, this America, this Europe, this Asia and Africa.

I shall mislead no one, I hope (for I wish to put this side of Christianity in its strongest light), if I remark that Christ did not come into the world to give men religion. Christ never mentioned the word religion. Religion was in the world before Christ came, and it lives to-day in a million souls who have never heard his name. While Christ did not give men religion, he gave them new and large and practical directions for the religious aspirations bursting forth then and always from the whole world's heart. It was his purpose to enlist these aspirations on behalf of some definite good. The religious people of Christ's time did nothing with their religion except attend to its observances. Even the priest, after he had been to the temple, thought his work was done. When he met the wounded man he passed by on the other side. The tendency of the religions of all this time has been to care more for religion than for humanity. Christ cared more for humanity than for religion—rather, his care for humanity was the chief expression of his religion. He was not indifferent to observances, but the practices of the people were more in his thoughts than the practices of the church. It has been pointed out—I dare say you have heard it remarked—as a blemish upon Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, that Pilgrim never did anything but press on to save his own soul. The remark is not quite fair, for the allegory is designedly the story of soul in a single relation. But the warning may well be weighed. Bunyan's Pilgrim had only one thought. His work by day, his dream by night, was escape. He took little part in the things of the world through which he passed. He was a pilgrim travelling through it; his business was to get through safe. Whatever this is, it is not Christianity. Christ's conception of Christianity was heavens removed from that of a man setting out from the City of Destruction to save his soul. It was rather that of a man dwelling amidst the destructions of a city and planning escapes for the souls and bodies and families of others—escapes not to the other world, but to purity and peace and righteousness in this.

What Christ came here for was to make a better world. The world in which we live is an unfinished world. It is not wise, it is not happy, it is not pure, it is not good—it is not even sanitary. Humanity is little more than raw material. Almost everything has yet to be done to it. Before the days of geology, people thought the earth was finished. It is by no means finished. Christ came to finish it. All the finer color and beauty was yet to be put into it. The fires of its passions were not yet cool; their heat had to be transformed into finer energies. The ideals for its future were all to shape, the forces to realize them were not yet born. The poison of its sins had met no antidote, the gloom of its doubt no light, the weight of its sorrow no rest. These the Savior of the world, the Light of men, would do and be.

It is a somewhat startling thought—it will not be misunderstood—that Christ probably did not save many people while he was here. Many an evangelist, in that direction, has done much more. He never intended to finish the world, single-handed, in his own day, but announced from the first that others would not only take part, but do "greater things" than he. For, amazing as was the attention he was able to give individuals, this was not the whole aim he had in view. His immediate work was to enlist men in a great enterprise for the evolution of the world, rally them into a great kingdom or society for the carrying out of his plans. The name by which this society was known was *The Kingdom of God.* How keenly he regarded his task, how enthusiastically he set about it, every page of his life bears witness. All reformers have one or two great words which they use incessantly, and by mere reiteration imbed indelibly in the thought and history of their time. Christ's great word was "the kingdom of God." Of all the words of his that have come down to us this is by far the commonest. One hundred times it occurs in the Gospels. When he preached he had almost always this for a text. His sermons were explanations of the aims of this society, of the different things it was like, of whom its membership consisted, what they were to do or to be, or not do or not be.

No one can ever know what Christianity is till he has grasped this leading thought in the mind of Christ. Peter and Paul have many wonderful and necessary things to tell us about what Christ was and is; but we are looking now at what Christ's own

conception of Christianity was. These are his own life-plans taken from his own lips.

Tens of thousands of persons who are familiar with religious truths have not yet noticed that Christ ever founded a society in the world at all. The reason is partly that people have read texts instead of reading their Bible, partly that they have studied theology instead of studying Christianity, and partly because of the noiselessness and invisibility of the kingdom of God itself. As clearly as there comes to a child, when it begins to grow up, a knowledge of its father's business in the world, and a sense of what real life means, there must come to every Christian whose growth is true some richer sense of the meaning of Christianity and a larger view of Christ's purpose for mankind. To miss this is to miss the whole splendor and glory of Christ's religion. Next to losing the sense of a personal Christ, the first evil that can befall a man is to have no sense of anything else. To grow up in complacent belief that God has no business in this great world of human beings except to attend to a few religious people is the negation of all religion. The first great epoch in a Christian's life, after the wonder of its dawn, is when there breaks into his mind some sense that Christ has a purpose for mankind, a purpose beyond him and his needs, beyond the churches and their creeds, beyond heaven and its saints—a purpose which embraces every man and woman born, every kindred and nation formed, which regards not their spiritual good alone, but their welfare in every part, their progress, their health, their work, their wages, their happiness in this present world.

The modern word for the coming of the kingdom of God is the evolution of the world. Millions of years ago the evolution of the world began. The divine activities for ages and ages busied themselves with the creation and arranging of atoms and cells into beautiful and ordered wholes. Then, matter finished, the great hand worked it up into higher forms—moss and lichen, flower and tree, clothing the naked earth with a richer beauty and preparing it for a further evolution. Then another story was added to the structure: the world was peopled with animal life; the mollusk and the fish, the amphibian and the reptile, higher still the bird; highest of all, the mammal, and highest of all the mammals, the mammalian body of man. Then mind was made, and the higher emotions planted in the breasts of human beings.

Did the work then stop? Did the creative hand withdraw? Has the creative power run out? Is God dead? Is there no further evolution? If God has not ceased working, where shall we find him working? At the top of the building. What shall we find him doing? Carrying on the evolution to still further bounds, evolving men into higher men, taking the unnumbered atoms of humanity as a starting-point for a larger beginning, shaping them, rearranging them into nations, peoples, worlds, moulding them into a diviner symmetry and beauty. In other words, carrying on the evolution of the world. Watch the drama of the moral order rise up, scene after scene, in history. Study the social progress of humanity, the spread of righteousness, the gradual amelioration of life, the freeing of slaves, the elevation of woman, the purification of religion, and ask what these can be if not the coming of the kingdom of God on earth. For it is precisely through the movements of nations and the lives of men that this kingdom comes.

This recognition of Christian activity still working in the modern world is the first article in the Christian worker's faith. His work henceforth is not only scientific work but the highest scientific work that he could give his life to. He is the practical evolutionist. There came a time in the life of the individual when he learned to control his own destiny. No atom could do this, no wild plant or animal. The coming of that time marked one of the new epochs of evolution. The next epoch, which is even now dawning, is when the world, rising to a larger consciousness, begins to take charge of its own development. On whom shall that charge mostly lie? On the Christian church. One faith, as Christian men, we hold in common—"that the government shall be upon his shoulder." And how shall this government be directed and applied? Through his people. Men are the only means God's spirit has for accomplishing his purpose, and men will accomplish this purpose, and it is in full course of being accomplished, and it is the great business of the Christian church at the present hour to include within her borders all men under whatever name who are helping to accomplish this purpose, and direct every effort, in whatever direction, which will help it on by a hair's breadth.

A sentence more. If the church will not rise to this opportunity it will be left behind. The redemption of the world must

go on, and will go on outside of it and apart from it unless it reach out its arms on every side and welcome and assist whatever movements are in the line of a better world. "I am disposed to think," says a very distinguished doctor of divinity, "that a great and steadily increasing portion of the moral worth of society lies outside of the church, separated from it not by godlessness, but rather by exceptionally intense moral earnestness. Many, in fact, have left the church in order to be Christians." We must include these elements. We must call them Christians. They belong to the true Evangelical Alliance of those who pray, "Thy kingdom come."

Ladies and gentlemen, I look for, as a result of this gathering of the Alliance, a very remarkable movement throughout evangelical Christendom. You may think that the words which have been spoken during these days here may leave no further echoes than those which have reached these walls. But I am very much mistaken if from this time forward a new interpretation will not be given to the word "evangelical." That word we all love, but it has never had so large a meaning attached to it as it has at this Conference. I have little doubt that the complex and comprehensive nature of the programme that has been presented in the name of the Alliance to the public of America will have an effect upon the whole world. And I have no doubt whatever that if the largeness of view and the earnestness of the spirit in which the subjects here have been discussed can be kept up, very distinct progress must speedily be made in that evolution of the world, in that coming of Christ's kingdom, which we all have more at heart than anything else on earth

THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

By President George A. Gates, D.D., of Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.

Human history is the terrestrial laboratory of God. To have here on this ball of earth a kingdom of God made out of the human race is the purpose of God so far as man is interested in God's purposes. What has God been doing toward this end so far? What method has he apparently pursued? How far has he brought the race along up to this time? Surely five or six thousand years should be time enough to furnish a hint in answer to such fundamentally practical inquiries.

> "We sow the glebe, we reap the corn,
> We build the house where we may rest;
> And then, at moments, suddenly,
> We look up to the great wide sky,
> Inquiring wherefore we were born—
> For earnest, or for jest?"

An American of the heroic days said, "We have no means of judging the future but by the past." That is not quite true, but it is one of the most instructive ways of determining the future. A preliminary run through history may eliminate the chief danger, that a prophet fall in the ditch in his attempt to leap to the next point toward which the race is moving and being moved along.

The historical evolution of the kingdom of God on earth has been accomplished by the introduction of a few great ideas, and the race going to work toward them as ideals to be wrought into realities. This seems to be the divine method. Taking that line of historical development at the end of which stands our modern Christian civilization, we have no difficulty in discovering the main landings on the stairway up which God has led our race.

The first great idea of which the race somehow got possession is

I. MONOTHEISM.

Over against the gods many and lords many, one people got hold on the idea that God is one. A fresh soil was needed for this seed. One man, Abraham, was called out to be the beginning. By slavery for two or four centuries his descendant people were humbled to docility. Then came the great revelation—not "We are," but "I am that I am."

Now the last thing that this human race ever wanted or wants now is a new idea. It has always crucified new ideas.

Back the people went over and over again to the former and neighboring gods. The long struggle is still on, the effort of the race to become monotheistic. Men want to-day something else besides God about as much as they ever did. We talk of the universe and God, matter and God, nature and God, and sometimes even man and God, with as radical denial of the one God as ever Israel showed in running back to Ashtoreth and Moloch. There may be a profounder meaning than men have yet thought in the prayer of Jesus, "That they may be one, even as we."

Here we see the meaning of monotheism as of practical importance to the progress of the race. It is not merely a piece of metaphysical theology. Monotheism is not chiefly a speculative truth; it is of the most fearful importance as an ethical truth. Any sort of polytheism is not merely a philosophical error; it lays the axe at the root of righteousness. Worship becomes politics and diplomacy and the door is swung wide for a divided allegiance. We are no longer polytheists. But a deadly dualism is at the root of many of the failures of human society. The secular and the sacred, the moral and the religious, are distinctions of the devil's own invention. Therein the lazy and vicious conscience of men finds easy excuse. Men live the selfish life in one and vainly try to live the unselfish life in the imaginary other. Hence largely is the great gulf in the church between profession and life. The early Hebrews refused to be monotheists, actual worshippers of the one and living God, because to accept the great revelation as the law of life would leave no room for selfishness and sin. Men still reject monotheism for the same reason. If men can only be permitted to

divide the realm of their lives, they can get on quite comfortably in some sin, because then a part of life is not God's domain. An all-inclusive monotheism has never yet taken full possession of the race. But alas if God must wait for the full possession of the race by one idea before the appearance of the next!

The second idea was

II. RIGHTEOUSNESS.

The Hebrew mind got the notion that Jehovah was their national God, which made it important that God should be on their side, and against Dagon of the Philistines and Baal of the Canaanites. This of course was a failure to grasp the monotheistic idea. They needed to learn that God was not on their side except they were right. The important thing was that they should be on God's side. In that, not conversely, alone was national security.

This idea likewise found no peaceful way into the minds of men. Transactions and usages long hallowed by custom were much disturbed by such a notion. The entrance upon the domain of human affairs of this new king demanding nothing less than entire submission was a rude shock. Unflinching loyalty to right at any cost involved sacrifices of selfishness too great for men, too great then, hardly less too great now. The struggle of the centuries of Jewish history was to set up on the earth the reign of the one God of right.

The third great idea,

III. LOVE,

remains evermore the greatest of all.

So love came to help fulfill the dominion of oneness and righteousness. Love was chiefly incarnate in one. The consummation was on Calvary. There stands the picture against the background of history. Human malignity at its worst drove the nails into hands that never wrought anything but good, pierced the feet that never moved but on errands of benediction, thrust the spear at the heart that never beat but in kindness. So love too was crucified. Even such hate was conquered by love, whose only revenge was "Father, forgive *them*." Then was love manifested. That triumph of love has broken the world's

hard heart. That unconquerable love revealed on Calvary is the voice that is calling back home God's wayward children, the lever that is lifting up our fallen race.

But the great revelation of love came into an age that specially worshipped power. Power then naturally took possession of love, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy grew up and claimed the right to administer this new dominion of love. The middle ages followed, fastening the chains of the church's power of dominion even more tightly in every department of human affairs.

Then in another fulness of time came the next great idea. It came as a necessity, to break the bondage of the human spirit. Its name is

IV. LIBERTY.

A humble miner's son of North Germany became the "little monk that shook the world." At Worms he stood before Charles the Fifth, the proudest monarch since the Augustan days of Rome, facing the most reverend assembly the world could gather. That one man met church and state alone. The whole world was against him. There is no grander scene in Christian history than when that obscure student stood up and broke the bonds of the individual human spirit. He defied the emperor, proclaiming liberty from the tyranny of the state. He denied the pope's right to make Luther's opinions, or be the lord of Luther's conscience, proclaiming liberty from the tyranny of the church.

Then and there was born anew liberty, the liberty of the individual human soul, freedom from political and spiritual despotism. This idea, too, had to win its way into the world through tears and blood. Men either rejected it or perverted it. For four centuries the struggle has been fierce. Vested interests in church and state were all against the liberty of the individual. France refused the revelation of liberty. The sin cost her terribly when the Seine almost ran red with the blood of her best citizens. Many nations and peoples refuse it still and walk as yet in the shadows of a perverted Christianity. How the Anglo-Saxon people in Great Britain have fought the new savior-idea, liberty for the common people! Recall the bitter opposition during four hundred years to every successive reform. They are "e'en now at" it. But the ultimate issue of every such contest is as certain as the movement of the stars in their courses.

By and by a fresh soil in the American continent and an unsophisticated people in a few English yeomen was the divine opportunity for liberty in an untrammelled democracy. Men not of us, like Gladstone and Bryce, being judges, the hope of the race in the next centuries is with America. Here liberty under our constitution in a free democracy has had its fairest chance however inadequately it has been used, however wofully it is neglected still.

The struggle to be free was never sharper than now. The reign of the common people comes on slowly, with many a halt and stumble and fall. The great nations of civilization are all involved. In Italy, France, Germany, Belgium, Scandinavia, England, America, Russia, everywhere the people are claiming their own. They will be "free men in Christ Jesus."

"Thus far the Lord has led" us "on." What next? Are there yet revelations? Have we not enough for fullest redemption? Is there any greater idea for which we wait and are in travail till it be born? Before we try to answer that, note a few most important facts about this series of idea-revelations.

(1) Each one of these is a permanent acquisition of the race. The idea once in the constitution of humanity it abides forever. Whatever eminences of achievement lie ahead of us, no time can outgrow monotheism. Right is forever ultimate along its line. Love is, in every grade of moral existence and everywhere, in whatever heaven or hell, the regnant power on every throne. Progress must forever be toward more liberty, where the Spirit of the Lord is. These foundation-stones of the spiritual temple are laid to stay.

(2) The wheels of the chariot of God never turn back. We may look for no retreat. Only a better-understood monotheism, a more nearly all-pervading right, a more nearly all-dominating love, an ever-freer liberty.

(3) Each of these great revelation-ideas includes all the subsequent ones. There can be no monotheism other than a righteous one. Its law must be love. Under it there must be liberty of the creature in its God.

(4) The method has been to find or make a fresh soil for each idea. For monotheism, a people in some centuries of slavery. For right, the same people, obscure, unorganized, without institutions. For love, a dozen fisherfolk, poor enough to be free,

simple enough to be willing to learn, uncontaminated enough to recognize and tell the truth. For liberty, the raw, semi-barbaric Teutons of North Germany, going on into a new stock which combines the old civilization of southern Europe with the northern sturdier stock, the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman, and a virgin continent for fresh domain.

(5) Each not only includes all those that come after it, but each can only be fulfilled in all that follows. The metaphysical notion of monotheism must be clothed with right, love, and liberty. Right cannot be fully right till it discover itself in love. Love must shake off every shackle unto perfect liberty.

(6) Or, beginning at the nearer end, each idea rests back on the preceding one, rests back on all, as a wall rests wholly on each stone and on all together. Right rests back on God. Men discuss whether there can be any morality without religion. Idle question! A formal, legal, theoretical morality, yes. But what is the voice of history? Did ever such a system have power in it to put an effective bridle on mighty human passion, passions of the body and the subtler and deadlier passions of the mind and spirit? There never yet existed a morality that had salvation and character in it, which did not found itself back on a potent belief in a personal God. Religion and morality, if their real content be recognized, are one and the same thing. Religion that is less or other than absolute morality is superstition, fanaticism. It makes possible that the bandit will be profoundly religious, going to church to pay a servile and placating worship to win benediction upon his day's work, which consists of cutting the throat of some English or American traveller in the mountains of Sicily. And what is morality but the being right with the total environment? There is no totality with God left out. But God included,—that is religion. Any fundamental separation in thought and life between right and God, morality and religion, is deadly dualism. A devil's stronghold in human thought and history lies right there.

Likewise love rests back on right and God, or else love is worse than no love. And the world is full of it. See it in the home. Love unfounded on righteousness is at its weakest empty sentimentalism, at its lowest sensualism, at its worst characterless oversight and lazy indulgence. How well one engaged in educational work knows that the fatalest love a parent can

give a child is that superficial emotion which fails to see that that cannot be love which is not founded immovably on right!

Liberty must be founded on love and right and God. "O Liberty! what crimes have been committed in thy name" just because of failure here! Liberty without God is perdition. Liberty without right clears a path for every sort of despotism. Liberty without love is certain anarchy and moral chaos. Liberty which recognizes not the dominion of God is rebellion against God. Liberty which does not include right, including in its turn the rights of others, is license. Liberty which is not born of love is already base-born. Many a so-called fight for liberty (for example, *Magna Charta* itself) is only a fight for power to set up a new sort of despotism, because no place for love is found in it.

(7) All these ideas are to be wrought into men rather than be superimposed in arbitrary dominance over men. They are to become constituent elements of human nature. These divine ideas must share the divine immanence in humanity. In the movement of history each idea is the climax of a past, the initiative of the coming age.

The next idea, what is it? Can we miss it? A foremost American scholar has pointed it out,—

> "The new movement in humanity,
> From liberty to unity."

Just in our time, in the ante-natal days of a new century, the next great idea of God is ripening for its birth, a new world-savior. Its advent men will hail. But alas! we need not deceive ourselves, it goes on to Jerusalem, to its crucifixion, like all its forerunners. There is little hope of a peaceful succession to the throne. Men will shout for unity till they face its cost. Then Caiaphas and Herod, the high-priest and Cæsar, church and state, will crucify it. But patience! Resurrection and reign, for all divine things, come after crucifixion.

One can already see forces arraying themselves for and against the coming unity. Against it in the industrial world is the capitalist class, in so far as it says, "The workman shall not be my brother; I will hire him, and that ends our relations. Nay, I will hire him or not, as I please. My property is my own, to do with it what I please. I claim my liberty. Individual liberty

has been once set up on earth; on it I stand." Saying which he is a blasphemer and a liar. His property is not his own, but to use in service for his fellow-man. Unless capital obey the law of God and men, and lay down its life in service in order to save its life, then it will perish off the face of the earth.

Likewise against this coming unity in the industrial world is the workman, who, folding his arms in his pride, says, "I will not call my employer my brother. My strength and skill are my own, to use or not as I please. I too claim liberty, the watch-word of four centuries." Saying which he too blasphemes and lies. He has no strength or skill that are his own; except he use them in service of his fellow-men, they too will miserably perish.

These two defiantly facing each other, standing on individual liberty which refuses to lose itself into unity, are standing in God's way. They are brothers, however long they put off recognition of their relationship. The Kingdom cannot come in the industrial world till these two come down off their pride and see and tell the truth of and to each other, the truth of their brotherhood.

Against the coming unity is the merchant who thinks his main affair is to get a living and make money, instead of recognizing the divine function of providing for the race. His business so treated is as divine as preaching the gospel. Ruskin ought long ago to have taught us that. Ruskin will get a better hearing for some of his words in the twentieth century than his own generation has given him.

Against the unity is the statesman who shows any less insistence on the rights of Englishman, Chinaman, and African than on the rights of his constituents. Indeed in the light of what Jesus taught about who our neighbor is, who are the true statesman's constituents? Whence has it come about that the word "diplomacy," which stands for relations and transactions between the nations, has so far degenerated as to stand by common usage for careful lying? So every man in every place and way must feel the same obligation to be to the full measure of his power a savior with Christ of the whole race. Such is the unity that is coming or the Kingdom cannot be.

But more things are making for this unity than against it. Men are hungry for a profounder brotherhood. Often when even in their acts and words they repudiate the larger faith real heart-

hunger is there. Down deep men know that they are brothers and must act like it some time. Wild, grasping hands are groping blindly after brotherhood. Shrieking voices are calling for it. Even by diabolic methods do men try to establish it. But underneath all the unrest and sin is a hunger for unity of life in the unity of man and God. Men will kill each other rather than give it up. A quarter century ago inestimable wealth and a million lives were poured out rather than that a denial of our national brotherhood should be permitted. The paradox stands that a man with his hand to his neighbor's throat will say, "You shall be my brother or I'll kill you." Ay, and he will do it.

Associations for some sort of mutual helpfulness of literally thousands of sorts increase more rapidly than the days. They outnumber the hours. Underneath all sorts of insurance business is the tacit recognition of essential brotherhood. Steel rails and copper wires binding mankind ever more closely together are verily ministers of God to show men that they must be brothers whether they will or not.

The race may go beyond unity, but not by overleaping it. Only *via* unity lies the path to a divine humanity. Never did a coming age have more or clearer-voiced prophets. We may read and hear them everywhere. These prophets may as heretofore be blamed, perhaps crucified, accused of bringing about by their words the very calamities they have given their lives to avert. This next great idea crowds upon us hard pressing. Call it unity, call it brotherhood, socialism, collectivism, democracy, what we will, it will "either find or make a way." God grant it may find it, not have to make it. It is the refusal of the race to rise upon the next plane that has made the tragedies of human history. Unobeyed, that is disobeyed, visions are divine curses which obedience instantly turns into benedictions. "Half our troubles are God dragging us." In unity is fulfilled what has gone before. Here is the realization of monotheism, right come to fruition, love become universal, liberty's mission attained.

Unity then is clearly in the line of the organic evolution of history. Liberty cannot be complete till unity shall supervene. Liberty, too, must lose its life that it may save itself. This last most glorious eminence already attained must be buried down among the foundation-stones, in order that the structure can rise higher. Individualism was a gigantic step forward. But civil-

ization is in danger of being crushed under a curse of individualism, unless a higher individualism resolve itself into a fulfilling unity. Individualism has taught man his rights, not yet adequately his duties. There is no dualism here. The highest right is identical with the highest duty. The highest right is the right to do one's duty. When men learn to clamor for that right as they do for others, that voice will usher in a better day.

Every new age of the world has its fresh inspiration in a new gospel. It is of course only a newly-emphasized phase of the old gospel of God's care for man. For that age whose characteristic mark is the sweeping away of old barriers between men and nations and peoples, the binding together into commercial, political, and social relationships all men that dwell upon the earth, *the kingdom of God* is the new watchword. The twentieth century can hardly fail to show long steps toward this end. "The kingdom of God," "the kingdom of heaven," are terms never used in the New Testament to describe a *post-mortem* existence. They without exception refer to that which Jesus came to set up on this earth. The trend of human affairs, most of all the great movements in the thoughts of men, bring well within range of vision the possibility of such a consummation, rather the very necessity of it. Men are discovering the power of unity. Monopolies, combines, syndicates, trusts, trades unions, are God's forces, which have somewhat fallen into the hands of the devil. If the children of light could take the hint there offered, these forms of power would be redeemed unto ministers of divine love.

Toward this end what is the church doing? Well, it will soon do immeasurably more than it is doing now or there may be nothing left for it to do but get out of the way of the kingdom of God. It is too much interested to build itself up to do the divine work of bringing about the kingdom of God. It does not seem very anxious to lay down its life by flinging itself with divine prodigality on the world. It seems more concerned about its crown of power than its cross of sacrifice. It has not yet fairly begun at Jerusalem, i.e., begun to practice unity itself.

There needs to come a new discovery of what might be called "the gospel of the kingdom." There is wanting a new vision of the actual kingdom of God, not gathered out of the world, but poured into the world · not withdrawn from the world, coldly judging it, but permeating all human institutions. Not separation,

but permeation. The great law of sacrifice holds here too, that only that which loses itself can live. With perfect reverence we may say, God *is* only because he forever gives himself. He would cease to be God else. He has no law for us that isn't a law for himself too. For the church to become the Kingdom, it too must lose its life, that it may find its life again in the larger life of the kingdom of God. There must arise schools of the Kingdom, a theology of the Kingdom, institutions and constitutions of the Kingdom.

These are the foundations of the kingdom of God: God and reverence constitute the philosophical foundation; right, duty, and obedience are the ethical foundation; love and loyalty are the dynamic foundation; liberty, individualism, freedom, and responsibility are the personal foundation; unity and brotherhood are the universal social foundation. When "at the long last" the Kingdom shall have fully come, there will be, however many beliefs or diverse forms of worship or countless activities, one faith, one people, one God, one kingdom in the Unity of Life.

THE PRESIDENT: Dear friends, we have been together now, some of us, for more than a week. We have come to this busy town full of the confusion of its great success, but a few of us have gathered day by day and have listened to these inspiring, helpful thoughts, and have gained some new lessons of life and some new hopes for the future. Able men, earnest men, successful men from all parts of the world have come to us and told us of work and duty. And now we are going away. What shall be the result of these meetings? We have not attempted or thought of criticising the church of God, but suggestions have been made as to the possibilities of a development of the united church of God which I know have sunk deeply into our hearts. As I have sat here this morning my imagination has gone back to the upper room where Christ first met his disciples together after the crucifixion, and it has seemed to me that if those of us who are together here this morning, and who have been inspired and helped and strengthened by all that we have heard of new conditions and new possibilities and new duties can go away with a new and fuller consecration, with a more intense belief in the duty which God has given to each one of us to do, with a sweeter and fuller idea of what the church of Christ is, then these meet-

ings will not have been in vain. We have a few moments which I am sure we can spend together this morning, and I want to ask three or four of those gentlemen who have been associated with us and who understand our work to say just a few closing words of cheer and encouragement and strength before we go away, that we may carry with us as an inspiration and help to what I believe God has given us here. I will ask the Rev. Mr. Tomkins, the rector of St. James' Church, if he will kindly come forward and just say a word to us.

REMARKS OF REV. FLOYD W. TOMKINS, D.D., OF CHICAGO.

DEAR BRETHREN: I am very glad indeed of this opportunity, at the closing meeting of the Alliance, to say not only how much I personally have been helped, but how heartily I have come to believe more and more that this Alliance is on the right lines. It stands, of course, for the one great object that we have in view—Christian unity; and that is bound to come; but it seeks for it by the method of work, and that is the only way in which it possibly can come. It is because it works on those lines that my whole heart and all my prayers are for it, and my interest always shall be in it. Dear brethren, let us go away with this truth which has been emphasized so nobly this morning, particularly by Dr. Gates—this one truth, that it is all nonsense and wickedness for us to think that we can go on in our denominational lines. And let us go away at the same time with this great conviction, that we can bring about that unity only by two things: first, by prayer unceasing and constant; and secondly, by work. We cannot bring it in any other way. God (I speak with all reverence) cannot bring it in other way, because those are two bases on which he ever works—the supplication and the endeavor. Now those two things, dear brethren, it seems to me we can do as we go away, and that is the message I will bring to you as we close. Cannot we, every one of us, make up our minds now, in this meeting which we have held in the bustling city of Chicago, that we will every one of us, as we say every day the Lord's Prayer, think of that unity for which Christ prayed eighteen hundred years ago, but which has not come yet? Shall we not

every one of us determine to pray earnestly that this united Christendom may come to be a fact?

And secondly, shall we not work for it—not by getting the Presbyterian and Episcopalian together, and saying that you are all wrong and he is all right, but by going to your Presbyterian brother and saying, "Here, brother, there is a saloon down there; can't we go together and clear it out?" After you have gotten that saloon out you will find that you and your Presbyterian brother are wonderfully nearer together than you ever were before. That is perfectly possible; it is perfectly feasible. It is on the lines of the life of Jesus Christ; and if every one of us go to our homes with this determination—make it as a prayer now—that God's kingdom may come in its unity, and work for it with all our hearts on this practical line, my word for it, before we die it will come.

THE PRESIDENT: The Rev. Mr. Bliss; after which I am going to ask Rev. Dr. Wenner, of the Lutheran Church, to say a single word.

REMARKS OF REV. HOWARD S. BLISS, OF BROOKLYN.

I think the effect of this week's meetings, upon me at least, has been this: To interpret and emphasize anew some of the old prophetic sayings as well as the new. I remember, when I was a student in Berlin, hearing the most distinguished professor, perhaps, that is now living in Germany—Professor Harnak—say that the three essentials to right Christian apprehension of truth are these: First, clear thinking. I am sure this meeting has been emphasizing that—the necessity of having clear ideas in the prosecution of our work. It is easy to bandy about the words "social" and "sociological" and "sociology" and all these other terms that have been illumined for us here. But let us think clearly on these subjects, or we shall make shipwreck with all our enthusiasm and all our zeal. And the second point was, not only thinking clearly, but feeling warmly. That is the point that we must carry away with us. The third was humility—the eye that sees everything except itself.

And then another thought that I heard him express was that unless Protestantism became more spiritual in the next twenty

years it must go to the wall. It seems to me that this Conference has been emphasizing these four points. As I sat here, I have been thinking of the words of an older prophet, Paul, where he says, "Brethren, I press on, if in any way I may apprehend that for which I was also apprehended by Christ Jesus." We have read that a hundred times. I believe that we cannot go from this meeting without feeling a new force in those words. We don't know what the word "apprehend" means. The original ought never to have been translated in our Revised Version by that word that is used so infrequently and in such a narrow sense. This is the meaning: "I press on"—take your lexicons and analyze that word—"I press on" is the word he used when he was speaking of persecuting the Christian church. In other words, "I am putting," he says, "all the energy and the zeal that I used to put into the persecution of the church into my untiring work for that purpose which Christ has seen is possible to be realized in my life. In other words, Christ has seized hold upon me. He has seen something in my life, some capacity, some opportunity which is capable of being realized in my life, and therefore I am going out to try to grasp hold of that for which Christ has grasped hold of me." It is a great thought.

And, in illustration further, let us go back, finally, to the words of another prophet—the one who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, where he says, "We have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin." There are two words in there. First, that word "striving." It is a pretty strong word, but very weak compared with the original one, which is "agonizing"—"agonizing against sin." And the word "sin"—not that weak conception of sin which is transgression, but the old Greek word—a failure to hit the mark. And the practical lesson, after all, of this Conference is this. Brethren, let us go forth, having seen where the mark is, not low down on the plane of selfishness, but high up on that magnificent mark that President Gates has pointed out to us this morning. There is the mark, and that we fail not to reach and hit that mark let us go forth in a perfect agony of struggle, even up to the point of blood-letting. That seems to be the practical outcome of this Conference—clearly seeing the mark high up, and then saying, "We will go forth and put leisure and ease and comfort behind us, as we would cast the devil behind us, and go forth to the point of blood-letting."

Remarks of Rev. George U. Wenner, D.D., of New York.

Two thoughts have been impressed upon me. We have come here from our struggles and our work in the city and country; but beyond all the sounds that we have heard from all our speakers it seems to me that we have heard the tinkling of silver bells—the right tone, the right spirit.

The second thing here is the confidence of victory. We are sometimes surrounded by those who feel that the church is fighting a losing battle. But the confidence that has been manifested here, the assurance of the principles upon which we are standing and of the aim toward which we are moving, has made us all go down from this place with the feeling of strength; and though we have been shown things to do, although work has been given us here for which life would be all too short, if we were to carry out only one-tenth of the things that have been suggested to us, yet they have made us so strong that we shall all go back with a desire to labor better than we have ever done before

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Remarks of Rev. George H. McGrew, D.D., of New York.

In passing around from room to room in the meetings that have been held under the auspices of the Alliance, I have noticed several things, and I have come out from those meetings puzzled. I came out here with the idea that our Secretary of the Alliance, Dr. Strong, had written a great and an original book, "The New Era." I am surprised to find that the two main ideas of that book are in the mouth of almost every speaker who has addressed us—that idea that the distinction between sacred and secular is an erroneous distinction and ought to be obliterated; and the other idea, that in a world which is normal the rule is to love your neighbor as yourself, but in a world that is abnormal the great idea is for a man to love his neighbor better than himself. And I am puzzled to know whether Dr. Strong borrowed these ideas from the West, or whether the West has been reading his book. Certainly they are ideas which need to be emphasized.

There is another idea which I have observed, and that is the

constant use of big terms—"socialism," "anarchism," "sociology,"—particularly out of the mouths of some of your Western professors. There is a truth which they are trying to emphasize, but it seems to me that there is alongside of it a dangerous error. The socialism which has been advanced again and again in the meetings of the Alliance is a socialism which seeks simply Jesus Christ and goes no further. In other words, there seems to be an idea that the laboring people, as we say in New York, want a new deal, and there seems to be an inclination on the part of some of the Alliance to say that this is a thing which ought to be done. If it means a new deal so far as money is concerned, and that only, it is a dangerous error. If it means that the great spirit of fraternity is to be advanced and put forth, and that we are to be brothers not simply in person, but in religious and spiritual life, then it is a truth which ought to be emphasized and is being emphasized.

There is another thought connected with this Conference, which has struck me very forcibly, and that is the idea which has been referred to by my brother of this city with reference to the necessity of church unity. You have all seen the old cartoon which originated in the Revolutionary War, where the thirteen colonies were represented as divided sections of one great snake, and underneath was this great legend: "Unite or die." I am glad that the idea is dawning at last upon Protestant Christendom that it must unite or die.

And I would not stop there. I expect that the idea will dawn upon us before a great while that Christendom must unite or die; and when that hour comes, then and only then will the prayer of the Master be answered, "That there may be one flock and one shepherd."

Remarks of President W. De W. Hyde, D.D., of Bowdoin College.

We are all thinking, in this meeting, how best we can carry on our work, and perhaps the best use I can make of this time is to tell what help this will be to me in my work after I return. The most solemn duty that I have in my position is to advise young men in their way in life. It is a serious thing, and espe-

cially when young men come and ask whether they shall enter the ministry or not. Now, I confess that I have had a serious hesitation when a young man has asked me, "Shall I enter the ministry?" If entering the ministry meant that a man should simply devote himself to preparing sermons, to preaching to a little congregation of people; that he should simply nurse within their individual breasts a piety peculiar to themselves; that he should simply see to it that they were kept in a comfortable pocket away from the rest of the world—if that was all the church stood for, I could not honestly ask any young man to devote his life to it, and I could not try to persuade him. It would be almost useless. If that were what the ministry meant, the church might well make up its mind that honest, earnest young men could no longer be had for it. They will go into the study of the sciences, they will go into universities and fit themselves to be teachers; but if that is all preaching means, you can't have them for it. I am glad to go away with the sense that there is a better conception of the church, that there is a nobler calling in the Christian ministry, than that; that we are coming to have a church which does not stand apart from the world, which is not wrapped up within its little narrow self, but a church which stands for a broad, brave, generous ministry to every human want, and that the preacher is to be the leader in this practical, social service, that the minister is to stand at the front of this great conflict, and by his wisdom and by his skill and by his training to help others on in this great service. Let the church make it known that this is what it means. Let it send out its call to young men for social and spiritual leadership in this sense, and you will have all the leaders that you want. I am glad to go back with a sense that this idea of the church and of the ministry is not a mere dream, but is something which we are all working for and all believing in here to-day.

Closing Remarks by Rev. Josiah Strong, D.D., General Secretary of the Alliance.

Not an address, my brethren, but only a word or two. The purpose which ran through the preparation of this programme and the planning of this Conference, the tone that has been heard I

think in every session, has been that of service—a larger field of service, more urgent need of service, a service more inspired by the spirit of the Master, a more intelligent service, new methods of service, and therefore more effective service. The Master himself said that he came into the world not to be ministered unto, but to minister—to serve. He met all the human needs that he saw. He not only quickened men's hearts, but illuminated their minds. And not only so, but when he saw the people's hunger he fed them. He not only felt for them because they were a flock without a shepherd, but because they had nothing to eat. He recognized their physical needs. He saw and felt for their diseases and their sufferings. He ministered not to a third of the man, but to the entire man.

Now Christ has made his church his body. We are his representatives in the world to-day. As has been said, we are to *re*-present Christ. What if Christ were moving among men to-day? What if he were living in the flesh here in Chicago? What would he do? If Christ were living in your home or mine, as he looked around and saw the neighborhood and its needs, what would he do? If we can answer that question, we can get some light on our duty, for we are his members, his hands and feet. The church is his body, and therefore the instrument to execute his will. Now, if Jesus Christ be "the same, yesterday and to-day," he would minister the same to-day as he did nineteen hundred years ago. He would deem himself sent, not simply to supply spiritual needs, but to illuminate intellectual darkness and to heal physical diseases and to meet bodily needs. Such service characterized him then. If he is the same to-day, it would characterize him now. And if we be his instruments, his members, then we see clearly what is our duty, and should recognize a larger scope of service than the church has heretofore conceived.

The Master said, "I will not call you servants, but friends." Why? "Because the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth." As if he had taken men into his confidence; and indeed God *has* taken us into his confidence. He has told us his plan for this world of ours. It is not well to be wise beyond what is written, but it is well to be wise up to what is written. And God has made a revelation of his great purpose for man; it is the kingdom of God realized upon the earth in all its completeness and beauty and blessedness. He has confided to us, as his friends, his great

purpose, and in the revelations of science he has revealed to us his methods, for nature's methods are God's methods. His methods then are every one of them scientific; and if we are to be the friends of God, his co-laborers, we must be intelligent co-laborers with him. We heard last evening that an ignorant good man might be as dangerous a foe to society as an intelligent bad man. We have heard it repeated here again and again that it is not enough to mean well. A good heart is not the only equipment necessary for a philanthropist. If we would serve, we must know how to serve. And hence we have discussed, in these section conferences, in so many different forms, new and efficient methods of service. We have brought here from the ends of this land the most effective Christian workers—experts, not to tell you theories, but to speak of methods which in their own experience have proved eminently successful, that we, as God's friends, may work intelligently. It is true that God can make even the wrath of his enemies to praise him; and if he can do that, no doubt he can make the ignorance of his servants to praise him. But I believe he can make to praise him vastly more the *intelligent*, loving service of his friends. Therefore, my brethren, we came here to study these processes of work, to study God's laws as manifested in human society and in human nature, that we might learn to move with those laws and thus with him and not against him.

And if we are to serve, we must have the spirit of service, which is the spirit of love, which is the spirit of consecration. The whole church will yet learn the blessedness and the beauty of loving service. You look at the cathedral window from without, and it is dull and meaningless. But when you enter and the light of heaven streams through it, it is glorified with every beauty of form and color. And so self-abnegation, consecration, as seen from without, is dull and meaningless, but when men enter into that experience, and the light of the cross of Christ streams through it, it is glorified with the beauty and the blessedness which are heaven's own.

My brethren, when the Master was on the Mount of Transfiguration with the chosen few, his disciples, beholding the excellent glory, desired to build tabernacles that they might detain him and his heavenly visitants; but while they were longing to abide at this point where heaven and earth had touched, a demon was

wrestling with a lad at the foot of the mount, which the disciples could not cast out. We have been here on this mount of illumination and transfiguration for a time; but while we are beholding the vision society is being torn by many demons, which the church as yet has been unable to cast out. We may have thought it would be blessed if we could build tabernacles and abide in these heavenly places; but we must be sent down from the mount, having seen the vision, with new inspiration, with new faith, and thus with new power to cast out the demons of society. The disciples could not cast the demon out, for lack of faith. Brethren, there has been no despondent note in the gatherings of this Conference; there has been faith. We believe in the coming of the Kingdom. We believe in the sure word of prophecy. We believe in the power of love. We believe in the redemption of Christ. We believe that the prophetic prayer will have its complete fulfillment,—"Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on *earth* as it is in heaven." With this glorious conviction, and the strength and inspiration which flow from it, let us go forth newly equipped for service.

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OF THE

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HELD AT

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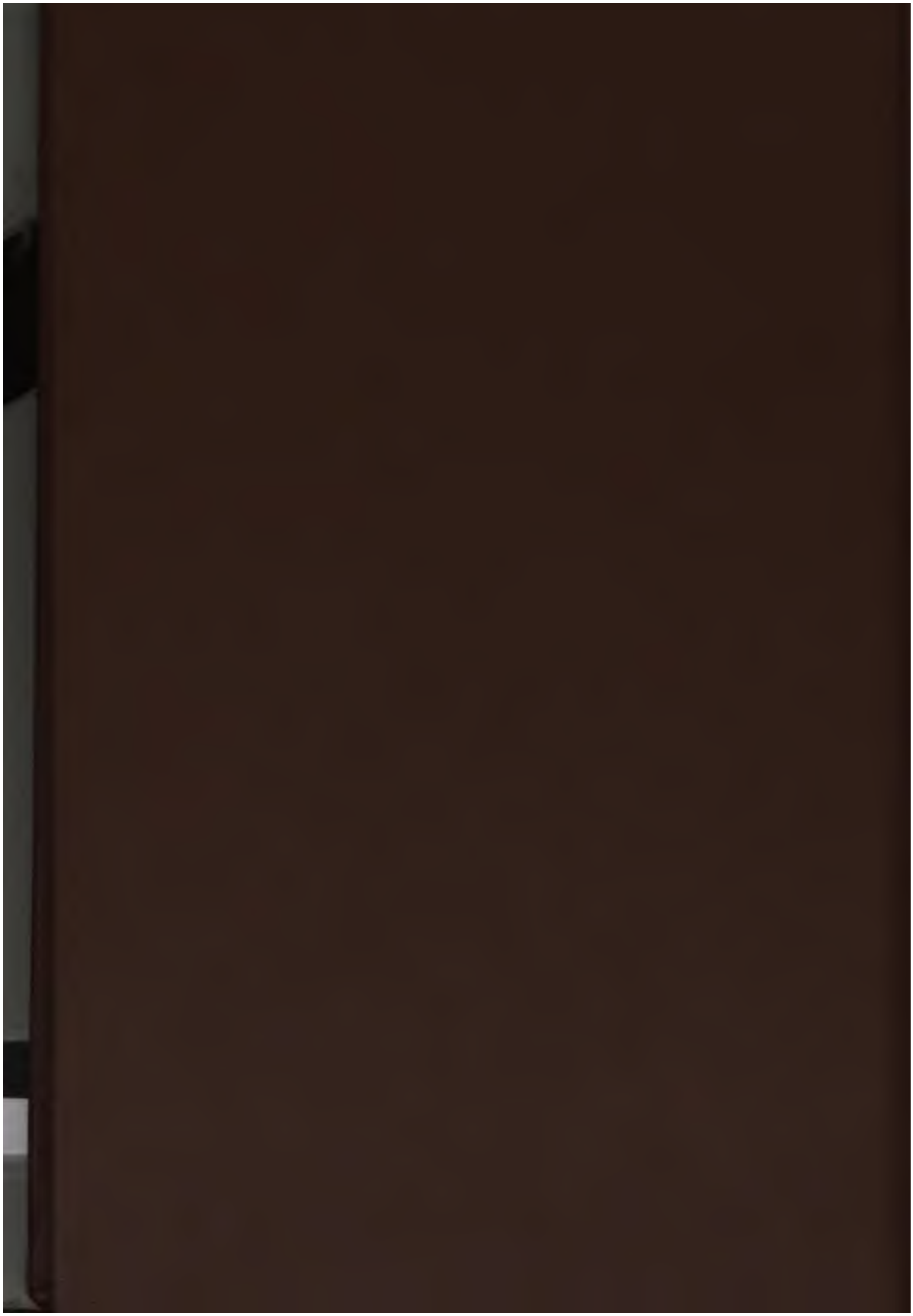
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